Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-053 *20 March 1995*

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NOTICE TO READERS: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

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Reportage on Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty Signing

Meciar Speaks at Signing

LD1903180395 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1628 GMT 19 Mar 95

[Speech by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at signing ceremony for Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty at the Matignon Palace, Paris; speech delivered in Slovak with passage-by-passage French translation; translated from the Slovak—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed prime minister of the French Republic, esteemed prime minister of the Hungarian Republic, the signing of the treaty in Paris in your presence is very significant.

This is a concrete contribution made by the two states, the Hungarian Republic and the Slovak Republic, as regards the stability pact that has developed thanks to the initiative undertaken by the French Government. For this reason, it is right that the signing took place in Paris.

By this treaty both Slovakia and the Hungarian Republic are declaring their intention to support each other on the way to the European Union.

In this treaty, both states assume the obligation to adopt the standard of the European states in regulating their mutual relations. By this the Slovak Republic, which is a new state, has proved its maturity and shown that its relations with all of its neighbors are regulated by agreements and are free of conflicts.

There are many remnants and layers of the past still active in Central Europe, complicating political life and relations between states and nations. Both the Hungarian Republic and Slovakia are declaring that they have left the past behind them and are embarking together on a new course. This is the path on which Europe is undertaking integration to form our common home, the path of integration into European structures, the path on which both sides have renounced any territorial claim on each other, present or future. This is the path on which both sides are declaring their interest in overall cooperation in all spheres and are accepting the European standard of human and civic rights, including the rights of people belonging to national minorities, which are perceived as civic rights.

The journey both governments have just concluded was complex. It was the path they have followed in the name of our common future. This is why I would like to thank all those who helped us in this process, whether the French Government or other countries of the European Union. I would also like to thank my colleague, Hungarian Prime Minister Horn, for his willingness to accept European regulations, to assume responsibility for their implementation in practice as regards relations between our states.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your help and the understanding you have shown for the signing of this treaty. [applause]

Horn Speaks at Ceremony

LD1903182795 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1628 GMT 19 Mar 95

[Speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn at signing ceremony for Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty at the Matignon Palace, Paris; in Hungarian with passage-by-passage translation into Slovak and French; translated from the Hungarian—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen, prime ministers. You are witnessing, together with me, a real historic event.

It is the first bilateral accord in the contemporary history of Hungary that was made not on the basis of great powers' dictates but by our own intention and on the basis of our best national and international interests.

We have signed a document that is not a proof of resignation but that of construction, construction on which we can base the Hungarian-Slovak relations and the close cooperation and ties between the two peoples and the two countries.

I am convinced that, on the basis of this treaty, a whole network of bilateral cooperation treaties can be built.

Together with my colleague Meciar, today we signed a document that is European—European in its spirit and European in its specific wording. That is, the spirit of all things laid down regarding relations between the European nations, the European states is reflected in this document.

I am happy that with this document we were able to meet the standards and requirements represented by the European countries and European nations.

Many have asked at home and abroad what guarantees the implementation of these things laid down in the basic treaty. In my opinion, the guarantees for this are: democracy, which is existing and effective in both countries; the institutions of democracy, the strengthening of which both of us are working on; and a further guarantee is that both countries have expressed, in the document and in every other manifestation, their readiness and resolute intention to join the community of the developed European countries.

Prime Minister Balladur, thank you for your assistance in the preparation of this historic document. This assistance was friendly, and I can safely say that, while with this document we are making a modest contribution to the European stability agreement, your initiative to establish European stability provided a great impetus to the creation of the document.

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I would like to offer my thanks to Prime Minister Meciar for his constructive approach and his sincere tone and style, and for rising above petty viewpoints. He kept in view the interests of both the Slovak and the Hungarian peoples.

I can reassure you that the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian Republic will act in the spirit of this agreement, this basic treaty for strengthening and developing Hungarian-Slovak relations.

Balladur Hails Treaty

LD1903200695 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1628 GMT 19 Mar 95

[Speech by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur at signing ceremony for Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty at the Matignon Palace, Paris; in French with part passage-by-passage, part simultaneous Slovak translation; translated from the French—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime ministers, ladies, and gentlemen, on behalf of the French Government and in full agreement with the president and on behalf of the European Union, of which my country currently holds the presidency, I wish to pay solemn tribute to the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Slovakia, for which, as their leading representatives, you have just signed a treaty of good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation in the Hotel Matignon.

In my view, as, I am sure, in yours, this document is of historic importance.

First of all, the signing of this document by two Central and East European states proves the goodwill of these two states, goodwill as regards good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation. This will become the rule for relations among all states, all democratic states of Europe. It creates a good atmosphere of mutual trust, the atmosphere of cooperation. Both politicians have shown political goodwill to overcome historic differences by having guaranteed the inviolability of their common border and respect for the rights of national minorities.

I am well aware of the difficulty of their task, and, at the same time, I am convinced that this will significantly contribute toward the stability on our continent, toward political stability and economic prosperity.

This treaty will be added tomorrow to others that already form the basis for the Stability Pact. At the same time, this treaty means a significant step toward a rapprochement between these two countries and the structures of West Europe, the European Union. The European Union is a community of countries respecting the principles to which these two states vow to adhere from now on. By signing this treaty, the Hungarian Republic and the Slovak Republic have proved that they hold in esteem the same values that are held in esteem by the West.

Finally, how could the French prime minister not feel it an immense honor, given the choice made by Hungary and Slovakia to sign this agreement in France, in Paris? It was here two years ago that the principle of the Pact for Stability was launched at my initiative and received the support of the president.

It was in France that great diplomatic efforts were mobilized to make this project a European one and to create for it a climate of confidence among the peoples of Central Europe such as to encourage agreements of good-neighborliness.

Finally, it is France that today, as chairman of the European Union, is happier than anyone to see that the Union has used its influence to serve peace and good-neigborliness, thus encouraging its enlargement to the east.

Bratislava, Budapest, and Paris are three historic capitals of Europe, and, having taken this step, they have established even closer links between themselves. This step is yet another symbol of our wish to build Europe all together. [applause]

Meciar, Balladur Comment

LD1903190795 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1628 GMT 19 Mar 95

[News conference given by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn following the signing of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty at the Matignon Palace, Paris; Balladur, moderator, and unidentified correspondents in French with passage-by-passage Slovak translation; translated from the Slovak—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Moderator] Ladies and gentlemen, do you have any questions for either of the prime ministers?

[Correspondent] Does the treaty that has just been signed by the two prime ministers consider political autonomy?

[Meciar] We have included document 1201 in our joint treaty, specifying that we understand it as a document giving guarantees of individual human and civic rights, including the rights of individuals belonging to national minorities. Autonomy is not a standard European feature, nor is it a way to agreement and cooperation. It is a way to future conflicts. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, don't you think that it would have been wise to also invite the representative of national minorities to Paris to directly take part in the signing and take a stance on it?

[Balladur] The treaties are signed between states and are negotiated by governments. There are no other relevant rules in international law. If this were not the case, international law would become very uncertain and less

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transparent. At conferences, it is the government representatives who are present because they are responsible for the observance of minority rights and give guarantees of the inviolability of state borders.

Let me repeat, the treaty was signed between the governments. This was my proposal and it was accepted. That is all I can say in reply to your question. [passage omitted]

Hungarian-Romanian Treaty Not Imminent

LD1903191695 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As planned, the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty was signed in the Matignon Palace in Paris at 1530 today. Slovak television broadcast the event in a live relay. [passage omitted] On the line now is Miklos Lengyel, Hungarian radio correspondent in Paris. Good evening.

[Lengyel] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Today's LE MONDE reports that it is possible that the signing of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty will also take place in the next few days. It has also been reported that, following the signing of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, Prime Minister Gyula Horn will meet Romanian Prime Minister Vacaroiu. Has this meeting taken place? Or perhaps you can already report on the outcome of these talks.

[Lengyel] I asked Gyula Horn himself about this. He said there is a chance of signing the Hungarian-Romanian treaty, but there is no way it could happen now. Under the present circumstances, this can be excluded, although talks between Gyula Horn and Nicolae Vacaroiu are currently continuing. Dialogue has not broken down between the two countries. [passage omitted]

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Serreqi Notes 'Great' Foreign Policy Achievements

AU1903182795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 18 Mar 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our foreign policy has scored great achievements over the past three years, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi stressed at the beginning of his news conference.

Minister Serreqi stated that during this period, new Albanian policies and diplomacy have managed to overcome the longest isolation in Albanian history, a consequence of one of the fiercest dictatorships ever, which left Albania with a very poor image in the world. In this three-year period, Albanian foreign policy assumed a multidimensional character for the first time, regarding content as well as geographical, cultural, and physical aspects. Its main irreversible guideline is European orientation.

In the framework of our current foreign policy, Mr. Serreqi stressed the idea that regional cooperation and relations with neighbors have been a constant for Albanian policy in the Balkans. The protection of national interests has dominated and still dominates this policy.

Serreqi then focused on the great changes that Albanian diplomacy has undergone regarding reformation and hiring new and professionally efficient personnel, who are fully devoted to democracy and the national question.

Serreqi gave a detailed representation of the agreements and bilateral and multilateral cooperation that Albania has realized during these three years of democracy. Within this framework, he mentioned friendship and cooperation treaties with Turkey, France, Croatia, and Romania; cooperation declarations with Germany and Belgium; and agreements to encourage and protect investments with the United States, Germany, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, Turkey, Netherlands, Greece, China, Poland, Croatia, and Bulgaria. Serreqi also mentioned cooperation agreements with the foreign ministries of Russia, Turkey, China, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia [The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,FYROM], and military agreements with the United States and Great Britain, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Malaysia. Serreqi also pointed to the agreements on economic and trade cooperation, transportation and consular cooperation, and abolition of visas for diplomatic and business passports with approximately 15 other countries.

Serreqi devoted an important place to the contribution that Albanian foreign policy and diplomacy have made to the national issue, stressing that the Albanian problem is now on every negotiating table where the Albanian issue or Balkan problems are discussed. In order to accomplish its goal, our foreign policy is already liberated from the dogmatic and naive ideas of the past.

Reporters then asked many questions. There was special interest in the recent visit of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papaoulias to Albania.

Minister Serreqi stressed that this visit was an expression of a good political will and clear disposition to release tensions and make progress in Albanian-Greek relations. These relations are not of bilateral interest alone, but are also of interest for the entire region.

Regarding Kosova and the foreign policy contribution to this, Serreqi said we are making efforts to avoid the spread of conflict to Kosova, as the threat is real. The situation after the departure of the OSCE monitors has become increasingly grave. The avoidance of the conflict so far is a credit to the political leadership in Kosova. We see not only the return of observers to Kosova but also an increase in international presence there as preventive measures. Meanwhile, the final status of Kosova should be discussed at a negotiating table in the presence of international mediators.

Regarding Macedonia, Serreqi stressed that a Macedonia that is marching toward democracy and the market economy is a stability factor. The events that bring about interethnic tensions have consequences in bilateral relations. The preserving of national Albanian identity should be respected, because their integration into politics, economics, culture, and education is to the general good.

In concluding the news conference, Serreqi stressed that the media should maintain an objective and realistic position when it is a question of foreign policy issues, its role in the national question, and beyond.

Editorial Deplores 'Serbian Theories' in Press

AU1703192595 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Mar 95 p 3

[Editorial: "Serbian Theories in the Pages of the Albanian Press"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Newspaper publishers, and not merely run-of-the mill translators, are increasingly leaning in the pages of the Albanian press toward historical or political theories to which Serbia has devoted decades of work and millions of dollars. Because the Serbs have written more and invested more in propaganda about Kosova than the Albanians, there are now cliches and stock phrases in the world press instilling Serbian priorities regarding Kosova into millions of people.

There are also dozens of journalists working in the world's most prestigious newspapers who are careful to see that this terminology is published regularly. In the postdictatorial Albanian press, in which Albanian newspapers have been free to choose their own views, the first

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signs of this campaign of patronage were immediately apparent. Without wishing to remind the reader of the bitter taste left among the public by the campaign to rouse anti-Kosovar feelings and the unpleasant interpellation in the Serbian prime minister to account over the $15 million spent on destabilizing Albania [as published], we must admit that this phenomenon still creeps up on the front pages of the Albanian press, both official and private. Besides repeated articles in KOHA JONE that give extraordinary prominence to some scuffle among Albanian emigrants from Kosova in the West, portraying them as criminals, and besides the scandal in AL FANCA, which one year ago wrote that a Kosovar had murdered a soldier in Kavaje and in the following issue did not apologize for using the word Kosovar but confined itself to stating that the soldier had died of heart failure, we now find that 24 ORE, the newspaper of the Tirana Socialists; ATA; and yesterday's issue of AIEANCA NACIONALE have, either intentionally or unintentionally, joined this company.

In an article two weeks ago, 24 ORE called on the Albanian Government not to allow citizens of Kosova to come to Albania if they are repatriated from Europe, arguing among other things that they are criminals wanted by the Serbian Government in Kosova. ATA, which has a relay contract with REUTER, AFP, etc., often repeats in Albanian the phrases for which Serbian propaganda has made such investments in the prestigious world press, writing "the Serbian province of Kosovo," "the Albanians' illegal republic," "self-proclaimed president," etc. We understand that accurate translation is an aspect of the contract with these news agencies, but the contract does not involve any need for news containing such terms to be given space in the pages of this agency's newspaper and in its bulletins. If ATA is interested in the problems treated by REUTER and AFP relating to Kosova, it can perfectly well compile a news item referring to these agencies, avoiding Serbian propaganda and the theories of the Belgrade Academy of Sciences. While in no way suspecting that ATA has done such things on purpose, we are duty-bound to draw our colleagues' attention to the fact that the truly praiseworthy work they are doing to popularize the problem of Kosova becomes degraded and very dangerous when it is accompanied by phenomena of this kind. We are grateful to our colleagues in ATA and to its directors for the priority they give to studying the news about Kosova in the world's media, but the regurgitation of Serbian theories and phraseology in relayed news is a defect that goes beyond lack of professionalism.

The first page of yesterday's issue of ALEANCA NACIONALE also carried one of the most dangerous theories served up by the Serbian secret service to the European and world media, i.e. that Albanian drug traffickers are working for an ethnic Albania. This theory crops up every day in the Belgrade press as evidence of ghostly preparations for a violent Albanian revolution. Thus, on pages one and five of this newspaper yesterday, an anonymous special correspondent raises the alarm that the Albanians are dealing in drugs in order to buy arms, with which they will start war against the Slavs for an ethnic Albania. In the belief that his article escaped the eye of Faruk Myrtaj—the newspaper's director, whom our editorial board respected until yesterday for his attitude to the problem of Kosova—and considering the re-publication of the article by the ghostly special correspondent to be a lapse on the part of the majority of the editorial board of this now-reshaped newspaper, we must point out that the Serbian press does not state that the population of Kosova is 85-percent Albanian, but admits that the Albanians make up more than 90 percent. [as published]

While not assuming the role of prompter over what must be written about Kosova in the newspapers of Albania, we feel obliged to call on our colleagues to at least write the truth, regardless of the material losses they might thereby incur.

Serreqi, Commander Discuss UN Role in Balkans

AU1703214795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi today received General (Angstrom), commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], and the delegation he leads.

At the meeting, they exchanged opinions about the situation in the Balkan region and the role of the UN forces as factors of peace and stability in the region, as well as the ways of preventing the conflict's spreading to the south of the Balkans.

The delegation left our country this morning.

'Special Meeting' Discusses FYROM's Stability

AU1703214995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Safet Zhulali today received an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] delegation at a special meeting.

After thanking them for their mission, Minister Zhulali stressed that Albania does not see itself as detached from events in the region of the Balkans, and is an active participant in them.

Stressing Albania's role in regional stability, Zhulali then focused on the relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM].

Defense Minister Zhulali stated that we wish for stability in the FYROM—which we assess as very important—for which Albania has rendered and continues to render a valuable contribution. However, Zhulali also underlined that a permanent stability cannot be reached without considering the role of the Albanian factor there.

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After pointing out Albania's role in the tranquility around its borders, the UNPROFOR general leading the mission stressed the need for continuous contact and dialogue between the representatives of Albania, Macedonia, and UNPROFOR.

Italian Delegation Visits To Draft Agreement

AU1803160095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A spokesman for the Defense Ministry reports that an Italian military delegation led by Admiral Di Paolo [name as heard] recently paid an official visit to our country.

After talks and two days of preliminary work to compile a draft agreement on defense cooperation between Albania and Italy, the two delegations presented the results of the talks at a special meeting with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and Paolo Foresti, Italian ambassador to Tirana.

At this meeting, Defense Minister Zhulali assessed the results attained so far in bilateral cooperation and Italy's assistance to our country, mentioned the contribution of the Italian operation codenamed Pelican in Albania, and suggested the need for Italy's support regarding Albanian integration into the structures of European institutions, NATO, the Western European Union, etc.

They also agreed at the meeting that the agreement should be completed soon. May of this year is envisaged for the signing, during the Italian defense minister's upcoming visit to Albania.

Union Leader Urges No Violence Against Strikers

AU1803161795 Tirana SINDIKALISTI in Albanian 12 Mar 95 p 1

[Interview with BSPSH President Valer Xheka by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Any Violent Intervention by the State Against the Berat Strikers Would Be Unforgivable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Given the fact that on several occasions in the past the government has preferred to use force to terminate hunger strikes, we asked BSPSH [Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions] President Valer Xheka the following question:

[SINDIKALISTI] What are the prospects of the anticipated strike by Berat's textile workers as a last resort to make the government fulfill their demands?

[Xheka] I am still hoping for an optimum solution to the government-trade union crisis in Berat, and not just there. In spite of this, I am convinced, and declare, that this strike is not simulated and that it has no exaggerated demands that are impossible to fulfill. It is a logical consequence—beyond our wish, of course—of the continuous neglect by different government segments of the vital and legitimate demands of the working people of Berat. I hope this strike appeals to the Meksi government and that it realistically reflects how to coordinate the work for the future of the reform. You are afraid of a violent intervention to crack down on the strike.... I hope that events do not reach that point, as that would be unforgivable. If this does happen, it will be up to the National Council and all our trade union organizations, which have voiced their support for the strikers' demands, to decide what should be done next.

New Penal Code Endorsed 'In Principle'

LD1803175095 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The People's Assembly endorsed in principle the new code of penal procedure of the Republic of Albania. This code, which is forwarded to the parliament after the civil and penal code, is the second and last condition of the admission of Albania to the Council of Europe. The Albanian deputies regard the new code of penal procedure as a very advanced one and of particular importance to the country. The specialists who have compiled it have been based on the fundamental principles and norms of penal procedures recognized by the international conventions.

Army Representatives Invited To Join Maneuvers

LD1803212295 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Great possibilities for cooperation are being created recently between the Albanian and Greek Army. Representatives from the Albanian Army are invited by Greek Army to join the military maneuvers the Greek Army is due to organize on May 20th this year, stated the Greek military attache accredited in Tirana, Colonel Xiros Alexandros, in an interview given to the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE.

Authorities Grant Greek Archbishop Exit Visa

NC1903135795 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1230 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to an ATHENS NEWS AGENCY dispatch from Tirana, the Berisha regime has finally given Archbishop Anastasios of Albania a visa to visit Greece and undergo eye surgery. Archbishop Anastasios has been suffering from high fever and dizziness for the past 10 days, which are symptoms of a serious infection. It was the opinion of Greek ophthalmology professors who visited him in Tirana that it is essential that Archbishop Anastasios undergo urgent examinations in a proper ophthalmological center; otherwise there is a danger of his losing his sight.

U.S. Efforts in Albanian-Greek Relations Noted

AU2003102395 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Mar 95 p 3

[Serjani commentary: "The United States Wants To Conduct the Albanian-Greek Symphony"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, U.S. Ambassador Joseph Lake visited southern Albania. Though at first glance it seems that Papoulias' visit to Tirana is being prepared without fuss, against a quiet background, behind-the-scenes thermometers are registering temperatures that are quite high. The U.S. factor which was the [words indistinct] the tension is now seeking the role of referee in the Tirana-Athens friendly match. Lake's visit to the South shows that now, after extensive exercise, he regards himself as fit to engage in the field of Albanian-Greek relations. He seems to have rich experience in this direction. Since the very first moments of his appointment as ambassador to Tirana, he was called upon to pass an "exam before the Foreign Policy Commission of the U.S. Congress, where he had to grapple with a host of very difficult questions put by the U.S.-Greek congressmen. [no end quotation marks as published]

This visit can be seen only within the context of the intensive interest shown by U.S. diplomacy in setting up a stable axis in the Tirana-Athens relations. The stabilization of this axis has been and still is of greater importance [words indistinct] administration

Immediately after the release of the five [Greek-speaking Albanians] from prison, President Clinton's adviser, Mr. Richard Shcifter, in his interview given to the correspondent of the Greek daily newspaper "I KATHIMERINI" said that the Clinton administration hoped that the positive climate created after the release of the five would create a new dynamic in the Balkan region. "If Albanian-Greek relations improve and satisfactory accommodation is found, we hope that this climate will spread eastward over relations between Greece and Macedonia," Mr. Schifter stated.

On the other hand, the U.S. administration implies that the improvement in Tirana-Athens relations will undoubtedly have its positive impact on the recently strained relations between Tirana and Skopje. In this respect, while the U.S. ambassador to Athens, Mr. Niles, is laboring that [words illegible] diplomatic bag should be as legible as possible, it seems that the U.S. ambassador to Tirana, Mr. Lake, by his visit to the South, is trying to avoid any misunderstanding's arising among the Greek minority in Albania. Nobody questions the specific weight that the Greek minority in Albania has in Tirana-Athens relations. It appears that Ambassador Lake is moving southward seeking maybe the "recompense" for the support that the Clinton Administration has given to the five.

Despite its official positioning, it seems that the Greek government, too, is pinning great hopes on the U.S. factor. The Clinton-Papandreou meeting at the White House a year ago, despite the one-year delay, appears to be experiencing a phase of concrete fruition. It must be remembered that the Holbrooke mission, early in 1995, has played an important role in the Tirana-Athens rapprochement. In these circumstances, it is understandable that U.S. diplomacy will continue its mission through its ambassador to Tirana. This time also, the aim of Lake's visit among the Greek minority cannot be other than a fact-finding visit to collect first-hand information about the latest development there on the eve of the Papoulias-Serreqi meeting.

In spite of Greek diplomacy's praise for the U.S. role, Mr. Papoulias seems to be working at the same time to initiate regional cooperation among the Balkan states.

Political commentators in Athens underline that these efforts from Papoulias are aimed at reducing the possibility of interference in the region on the part of non-Balkan factors. This is also shown by the fact that in March, immediately after Tirana, Papoulias will be flown to the Bulgarian capital.

'Successful Conclusion' of Papoulias Visit Noted

AU1703133495 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 15 Mar 95 p 1

[Editorial: "A Victory for Wisdom and Good Reason—The Aftermath of Mr. Papoulias' Visit to Tirana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias left Tirana yesterday after holding meetings with the highest Albanian officials. The Albanian public followed with interest one of the most anticipated and discussed visits ever paid to Albania by a head of foreign diplomacy. It can be said beyond the shadow of a doubt that the successful conclusion of this visit has elicited a general feeling of relief and realistic optimism among the public. This is the second time Mr. Papoulias has been received by this government. In both cases, he has come to Tirana following serious crises and dangerous tension in bilateral relations. However, in spite of similarities between the two instances of strained relations with our southern neighbor, they differ in a number of important ways.

First, it can be correctly asserted that awareness of the risk posed by extremism in government policy and the sense of responsibility Balkan governments should have regarding the future stability of the peninsula appear now to have the upper hand in Athens.

Second, the Greek Government is announcing loudly and without hesitation that it is officially distancing itself from extremist circles, which in the aftermath of the Cold War could find no other reason for their further existence except in backing Greek territorial claims dating back to the beginning of the century and fueling tensions or provoking quarrels with neighbors.

Third, the members of the international community—mainly the United States and the European Union—have assumed distinctly impartial, mature, and constructive stands. There was no taking sides, as Athens might have expected.

However, the greatest difference between Mr. Papoulias' visits lies undoubtedly in their substance. Whereas Mr.

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Papoulis came over with goodwill but little else in November 1993, in March 1995 he left Tirana only after having proposed an entire package of concrete proposals, and undertaking a series of important engagements. The main proposal was Athens' acceptance in principle of Tirana's repeated proposal, reiterated by Berisha at the OSCE summit in Budapest in December 1994, to conclude a friendship and cooperation treaty between the two countries. This was expressed also by the Albanian side's readiness to start working out a draft with the Greek side immediately. This document undoubtedly would constitute a broader and much more solid basis for friendly Greek-Albanian relations than any political declarations, which are often affected by the everyday developments of a situation. The impact of such a treaty is of greater significance than a bilateral agreement because normality and understanding between Albania and Athens contribute greatly to stability in the region.

Mr. Papoulias undertook to find an acceptable solution to the rather delicate issue of recognizing the common state borders based on maps of existing documentation. Eliminating this point from the negotiations agenda strengthened mutual trust and opened the way for the resolution of other pending issues. The residents of Saranda and Permet will be very glad to learn that their road to Greece will soon pass via Qafe Bota and Tri Urat respectively, creating a short cut when traveling to Greece and invigorating the local economy. With the opening of these new border checkpoints, the PD's [Democratic Party] promise to the people of this region in the 1992 follow-up election will be realized. The Greek statesman promised that the Greek Government will earnestly consider the possibility of legalizing the status of Albanian emigrants in Greece, boosting the number of visas for Albanians, creating facilities so that Albanian citizens may be paid through Greek banking branches in Albanian, and so on.

The Greek minister made a sharp about-face with regard to the Cam problem, giving the green light to proceed with the legal handling of the ownership problem of Cam residents, ejected by force and terror from their homes after World War II. Even more spectacular, however thoroughly realistic, was Papoulias' new stand regarding the Greek minority in Albania. He expressed to President Berisha his satisfaction regarding Albania's efforts and achievements in ensuring Greek minority rights. There is no need to remind our readers of the tone and language used by certain Greek circles in connection with this issue last Autumn.

Mr. Papoulias' March visit marks a substantial change in Athens' foreign relations attitude toward Albania. Whereas two or three months ago, in Brussels, the Greek Government vetoed EU aid and threatened to block our participation in the Partnership for Peace program, Mr. Papoulias today publicly affirms that the Greek Government will support Albania's integration into Europe and the West without reservation, expressing his pleasure that the Albanian Army is to take part in the joint military exercises that Greece is conducting near Piraeus with the United States and other countries in the region.

Mr. Papoulias also affirmed his support to President Berisha for a Balkan foreign ministers' conference. Both sides also agreed that problems in bilateral relations should be overseen by a special commission head by Mr. Starova on the Albanian side and Mr. Georgiou, general secretary of the Greek Foreign Ministry. This leads us to believe that the agreements concluded heretofore will not get bogged down or lost in the mechanisms of bureaucracy but will receive adequate oversight and be translated into practice.

Papoulias received President Berisha's assurance that the standards enjoyed by the Greek minority in Albania are dynamic and that, like all other standards of Albanian democracy, they are likely to rise. Greek-language courses will be introduced at the Dropul middle schools and all citizens of the Republic, including minority peoples, will benefit from the law on public education that is to be prepared.

The abovementioned is without the slightest doubt a major success for Albanian democracy. By normalizing relations with its neighbors, by [words indistinct] and understanding and opening the [passage indistinct].

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Klaus Hails Situation in Czech-German Relations

LD1903163495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following his meeting with German Finance Minister Theo Waigel today, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that Czech-German relations are better than ever. He went on to say that both of them agreed on this optimistic assessment. According to Vaclav Klaus, what matters above all now is what steps both sides can take to meet each other halfway in order to get rid of the awkward legacy of the past. He discussed some of them with the German minister, but both officials refused to outline them specifically. They also discussed a recent address by President Vaclav Havel and Friday's speech by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. However, they intentionally avoided discussing compensation for Czech victims of Nazism.

Zieleniec Welcomes 'Discussion'

LD1703203995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec gave a news conference at the Cernin Palace in Prague this afternoon to comment on the stance taken by the German Government on Czech-German relations.

[Begin Zieleniec recording] First of all, I would like to emphasize that we perceive as extremely important and welcome very much the opening of a discussion in Germany about German-Czech relations, the discussion in the Bundestag, the discussion involving all of the decisive political forces in Germany.

I also welcome the fact that it was Foreign Minister Kinkel's address to start this discussion, the speech that clearly shows a willingness to look for ways to reach mutual understanding and solve the problems existing between us. This is clear from his entire speech, from its many details.

Naturally, there are things to argue about—and we will argue about them. However, this speech clearly contains the stretched-out hand Minister Kinkel spoke about. We are stretching our hand out as well.

One should be aware of the fact that this process will demand that courage be shown on both sides. This process is and will continue to be complicated for politicians on both sides. However, I know that there is courage on our side, and, following his speech, I feel that our German partners are also prepared to show that courage. [end recording]

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Meciar on Talks on Basic Treaty With Hungary

LD1703135895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Martin Bartisek on the talks on the basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bartisek] Last night, you and the Hungarian prime minister concluded the final stage before the signing of the basic treaty with Hungary. This step will give rise to considerable international political reaction. How would you assess this meeting and its result from your point of view?

[Meciar] As you know, the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, in this context, will be accepted very well by the international public. Numerous states are interested in its conclusion. There has been an agreement about the text of the treaty. Naturally, it must be refined, which means linguistic changes and precision in its formulation, and the two governments must assess it. It can be signed during the talks in Paris. The negotiating position is slightly different from what it would have been if we were to go with the unprepared treaty.

As far as I know and as it appears to me, the talks were very complicated, above all, by the fact that for the first time in history, the Slovak and the Hungarian Governments sat at a round table and discussed the arrangement of basic relations as friends and equal partners. That has never happened before.

Further, we had to take into account developments in our country, concerns that minority rights might not lead toward collective and autonomous rights. We had to take into account the developments in Hungary, thus reacting to the political scene there, so that the document is internationally acceptable.

If the treaty is concluded, it will probably be a topic of broad discussions among people. We are not avoiding these discussions or responsibility for the step we have taken.

[Bartisek] If I may, I would like to return to last night. You allegedly suggested yesterday a bridging formulation concerning the rights of national minorities. Is it true that the Slovak side agreed with the recommendation of the Council of Europe No. 1201 to be included in the basic treaty? If this is so, these norms would be upgraded to some sort of internal legal obligations.

[Meciar] There exists the entire Article 16, which discusses national minorities. This Article 16 has several basic stipulations. First, it accepts the European norms of understanding the rights of minorities as we have always stated them. [passage indistinct]

The documents the Hungarian side refers to include, for example, a framework agreement, the declaration of the United Nations, the Copenhagen Agreement of 1990, and also Article 1201, with one addition—namely, that it must respect the individual human and civic rights, including the rights of people belonging to national minorities.

[Bartisek] How did your Hungarian counterpart react to this suggestion or policy of the Slovak side?

[Meciar] The Hungarian side accepted our proposals and we accepted many proposals by the Hungarian side. The text is thus a compromise that will naturally undergo consultations with political parties of the government coalition, opposition, with some social organizations that will be given the opportunity to voice their views on the text to reduce the risk of possible mistakes. Naturally, after that, ratification in parliament will follow. So, we are waiting for the situation to develop, above all, after the Romanian side did not agree in Budapest yesterday.

[Bartisek] I would like to conclude this initial bloc of questions and answers about relations with Hungary with one additional question: Did our side consult with the Romanian side on the problem of basic treaties before the talks with Hungary?

[Meciar] Yes, there were permanent, unceasing consultations, and both sides had immediate information.

Kovac Sends Letters

LD1703153995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac has sent a letter to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in which he praised the successful talks between the prime minister and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn on the basic treaty between the two countries.

In the letter, Kovac praises the fact that, after long and demanding talks, it was possible last night to succesfully complete this process. The two countries have thus demonstrated the ability to conduct a dialogue and tackle open questions by peaceful means.

Michal Kovac expressed the conviction that the signature of the treaty will contribute in a fundamental way toward improving bilateral relations and will help the integration of Slovakia and Hungary into European and transatlantic structures.

Michal Kovac has sent a similar letter to Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn.

Schenk Details Treaty

LD1803213295 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 18 Mar 95

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Minister, talks on the wording of this treaty were held at levels reaching from that of experts up to the level of the two prime ministers. The talks were difficult and complex. Could you tell us what the main problems were and what the basis for their successful completion was?

[Schenk] Six main problems were left open for the meeting of the two prime ministers. I mentioned these problems on my return from Budapest. I would like to say that we have succeeded in resolving all six problems so that the wording of the treaty is acceptable to both sides.

We managed to resolve the issue of borders. The text of the treaty guarantees the borders and their inviolability and the fact that both sides are giving up any territorial claims. The wording does not even allow for a peaceful change of borders.

The controversial articles dealing with the Danube and the succession were dropped from the text.

We also managed to resolve the issue of a control mechanism. The present version of the treaty does not allow for arbitration.

Another very important factor is the fact that all mentions of territorial autonomy were dropped.

The greatest problem is the one linked to the disputed document, Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, which became part of the treaty—however, with a very important explanatory clause that substantially narrows its interpretation and implementation. This clause unequivocally states that the content of Recommendation No. 1201 can only be interpreted in the sense of individual rights.

I would like to add that the whole article on minorities is clearly bound to individual rights only. The whole article unequivocally states that nothing else can be interpreted in the sense of collective rights, and the wording of the treaty also stipulates in several clauses that no part of this article may be used against the territorial integrity of a given state.

Of course, the text will be published once it has been signed. I would like to react to some interpretations that mention only the fact the this document became part of the treaty and deliberately omit the fact that there is another, essential part to it that makes this document more specific. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Could you tell us briefly what the main significance of the treaty is?

[Schenk] Its main significance is that, on the basis of the treaty, we have managed to resolve the long-term problem between the Slovak and Hungarian Republics. It is the agreement concluded and to be signed between two equal sovereign partners. It is a treaty acceptable to both partners, and it does not favor either side and does not favor minorities, either. On the contrary, the treaty creates for them a real and full opportunity for their self-realization. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Parties React

LD1903205495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The position of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia concerning the basic treaty is partly acknowledgement and partly caution. Ildiko Nagy reports from Pozsony [Bratislava].

[Nagy] According to Miklos Duray [chairman of Coexistence], the ethnic Hungarian coalition's acknowledgement of the Slovak and the Hungarian prime ministers' agreement indicates that they accept the fact. The future, however, will show what is realized. They do not accept responsibility for the negative consequences.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement will shape its stance after its basic organizations have pronounced an opinion on the treaty, Chairman Bela Bugar said in reply to a question from the Hungarian radio correspondent. He described as an advantage of the treaty the fact that it gives legal force to Council of Europe Recommendation 1201. He described as a disadvantage the fact that there are no guarantees in the treaty for ensuring the operation of minorities' cultural and educational institutions.

Laszlo A. Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, considers the important task of the future to be the working out of the package plan that would ensure the realization of the treaty and participation in the mixed committee that monitors its implementation.

Treaty 'Misinterpreted' by Hungary

LD1903213195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk has handed to his Hungarian counterpart, Laszlo Kovacs, a diplomatic note in Paris. This statement by the Slovak Government says that at its extraordinary session held on Saturday, the Slovak Government approved the signing of the treaty on good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic.

The Slovak Government considers the text of the treaty, which was agreed upon, to be acceptable to both sides. It does not put into disadvantage either of the sides to the agreement, guarantees the inviolability of the shared state border, rules out any territorial claim on the other side, and creates an appropriate legal milieu for the implementation of the rights of the people belonging to national minorities, in accordance with laws valid in each of the countries.

However, the Government of the Slovak Republic expresses its surprise over the fact that, even before the signing of the treaty, its text has been misinterpreted by

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official Hungarian representatives, namely as regards its article on the situation of people belonging to national minorities. The Slovak Government refutes, above all, the interpretation by the Hungarian side, according to which the Slovak side has accepted Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in the sense that makes it possible for autonomous national minorities' self-administration to be formed.

Comment: Clinton Letter Part of Scramble for CR

AU1803160295 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Mar 95 p 4

[Commentary by Robert Kotian: "West-East 'Scramble' for Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. President William J. Clinton's letter to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was preceded by a number of meetings that clearly testify to the interest of both the East and the West in Slovakia. In view of our strategic location in Central Europe and, above all, our position within the group of Visegrad Four countries, this interest in not at all incomprehensible. Incomprehensible (given our Slovak misery), however, is not even the mind-boggling carelessness and indifference of both opposition and coalition politicians in analyzing this interest (Which relevant Slovak politician feels at least slight nervousness in the face of the frequency of Russian visits?).

Let us start with a brief summary: Even before the constituent meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [on 3 and 4 November 1994], a number of foreign politicians made it clear to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] chairman that they were not pleased by signals about the HZDS's intentions regarding the president and Democratic Union deputies (it could even be argued that these two "aims" have come to be seen by the West as the litmus test of the situation in Slovakia). Following the dramatic nocturnal meeting of parliament, Slovakia became the addressee of the EU countries' demarche, which expressed in diplomatic language the attitude of civilized Europe toward domestic excesses. It was probably also this circumstance that made the prime minister decide to go on his first foreign trips to Brussels and Budapest, where he strove to assure his partners about the Slovak Republic's orientation toward European political, economic, and security institutions. It needs to be said that this activity was generally received in Slovakia with relief, albeit with a certain dose of distrust. This distrust in a section of the Slovak public was strengthened by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit on 13 and 14 February, the first foreign visit to Slovakia [by a head of government after Meciar's third appointment as prime minister], and by the results of this visit, such as the Agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on Visa-Free Travel of Citizens, to say nothing of the mutual understanding, rarely seen in Slovakia before, displayed by the two prime ministers.

The visit 10 days later by Richard C. Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs, made it clear that "the United States is worried by signs of a confrontational tone between Slovakia's supreme constitutional institutions," which, according to Holbrooke, is not a "practice customary in democratic states." The U.S. assistant secretary of state inquired, in particular, about the present domestic political situation, problems in relations between the president of the Republic, the government, and the Slovak Parliament, relations between the Slovak Republic and Hungary, and the freedom of the mass media and their impact on domestic political developments. During a brief meeting with correspondents, Holbrooke stressed that the United States was attentively monitoring developments in Slovakia and was highly interested in the Slovak Republic's becoming a NATO member country. According to his words, two conditions are important for this step—military compatibility and political stability in the country. Signals also surfaced from Holbrook's meetings that the United States would even accept possible changes in the political life of Slovakia but that legal procedures would have to be observed.

Last, but not least, a few days after the mind-boggling visit to Slovakia by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the very day when Theodore Russel, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to the Slovak Republic, presented the U.S. President's letter to the prime minister, Oleg Lobov, secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, agreed here on further deliveries of special military equipment within the framework of the repayment of the Russian debt to Slovakia.

Only a blind person can fail to see the interest of the East as well as the West in gaining the upper hand in this geopolitically strategic region. Only a man in love does not see the faults of his beloved one. And only an irresponsible gambler can expect that by playing to two sides he will outwit both of them.

Press Interpretations of Letter

AU1703203895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 16 Mar 95 p 1

[Commentary by Eva Zelenayova in the "Public Matter" editorial column]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton's personal letter to the prime ministers of the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic descended on some commentators like the presence of authoritative elder gentlemen on an immature boy. It is quite understandable that, after what happened and continues to happen on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the world is not interested in further destabilization in Central

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Europe. But is it Slovakia that should wear sackcloth and ashes? We know that the Slovak Republic is ready to sign a nonstandard treaty with the Hungarian Republic, which, however, does not compel Slovakia to sign a document that would affect the human dignity of its citizens in any way or that would lay the foundations for possible future conflicts. For example, Slovakia can hardly agree with the Hungarian proposal that the treaty of 1968 should be declared null and void as of 1 January 1993—that is, as of the creation of the Slovak Republic! Because the Slovak Republic has taken over all of the international treaties and the ensuing obligations of the former federation, it cannot simply deny its existence before 1993. Similarly, the Slovak Republic must not let the possibility of a peaceful change of borders be forced upon it, even if the Hungarian side refers to international, though legally not enforceable, norms, from which it does not want to back away. Were the signing of the interstate treaty to be postponed, both Slovakia and Hungary would equally have to bear all the consequences thereof. First and foremost, this would influence the process of their integration into European and transatlantic structures. However, the signature under such a treaty definitely should not have an impact on the country's internal development, particularly respect for constitutional norms, independence of the media, and the implementation of market economy reforms, as is stated in Bill Clinton's letter. Not even the United States has settled all of its problems, and those who think we should stand at attention whenever we receive a message from overseas obviously have not realized that they live in a sovereign, democratic, and law-governed state. This is guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

We have no reason to feel small, especially when the vital interests of the citizens of Slovakia are at stake. Naturally, everyone wishes that the treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic would be signed as soon as possible and that we have good-neighborly relations with Hungary, but not at our expense and not at any cost.

No License To Export Arms to Dominican Republic

LD1703183895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Economy Ministry has neither been asked to issue a licence to export weapons to the Dominican Republic nor issued any such licence.

It is probably misleading information, emphasized a statement given to TASR by Ivan Kovacik, director of the department of engineering and electrotechnics of the Economy Ministry. He was reacting to a report about the seizure of a Russian military plane at the Portuguese Lajes airbase.

It is alleged that on board the plane are weapons of Slovak origin destined for the Dominican Republic.

'Unusual, Surprising' Aspects of Lobov Visit

AU1803160695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 and 15 March publishes reports on the visit paid to Slovakia by Oleg Lobov, secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, in which it emphasizes "surprising" and "unusual" aspects of the visit.

On 14 March, on pages 1 and 2, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 600-word Blazej Panik report on the first day of Lobov's visit, entitled "Lobov's Mission Concerns Primarily Cooperation in the Military Industry Sphere." Panik states, among other things: "The Security Council of the Russian Federation is not a body of executive power but only the president's consultative body. Specific issues of interstate relations, no matter which area they concern, are in Russia within the jurisdiction of the government. The fact that a delegation that is not led by a member of the government came to Slovakia to discuss issues of military-technical and other cooperation is, therefore, all the more surprising. When the NARODNA OBRODA correspondent sought an explanation for this unusual fact, he received from the Russian side the reply that Lobov 'has a mandate from President Yeltsin' and that, in his capacity as permanent member of the Security Council, 'he is actually the number-three man in Russia.' According to this source, the decision that the delegation would be led by Lobov was made because he knows Slovakia well from the time when he was deputy prime minister and when he chaired the Russian part of the joint Russian-Slovak intergovernmental commission." To emphasize the high-caliber nature of the Russian delegation, Panik mentions that "it includes Gennadiy Voronin, deputy chairman of the state committee responsible for the military-industrial complex, and General Anatoliy Sitnov, a high-ranking representative of the Russian Armed Forces, who is responsible for the entire sphere of armament and military equipment."

On 15 March, on page 5, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 700-word Blazej Panik report on the second day of Lobov's visit, entitled "Oleg Lobov's Visit to Slovakia Has Come as a Surprise Even to Russian Journalists." The NARODNA OBRODA correspondent states that his newspaper contacted several "sources" in the Russian capital to "verify whether talks by Oleg Lobov abroad were a standard affair, in view of the functions of the Security Council." Maksim Yusin, a "distinguished political commentator for the daily IZVESTIYA," reportedly replied to NARODNA OBRODA's query as follows: "No, in his current position, they certainly are not a standard affair.... It is surprising. As a matter of fact, I do not recall any trip abroad by Lobov in the recent past. And, if he did travel abroad, no information has been published about this in our country. But it is possible that his current visit to Slovakia is the first swallow of this kind. It may portend a new tendency in

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Russia concerning the division of powers between Chernomyrdin's government and the Security Council, which Lobov, as its secretary, actually controls."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 14 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word report signed "od, pv" on the first day of Lobov's talks in Slovakia. The report, which is otherwise covered by previously filed items, quotes Lobov as having "announced" after his meeting with Slovak Government officials that "the Ministries of Interior and Defense of two countries will soon exchange their attaches."

Meciar Interviewed on Current Political Issues

LD1703232195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartisek; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The regular interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was prepared today by Martin Bartisek. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Bartisek] It is generally known that the Hungarian side is to start demolishing the circle dam on the Nagymaros part of the joint water-project. This is an interesting coincidence in the timing. On one hand, there is satisfaction with the treaty and, on the other hand, there is this destruction.

[Meciar] These steps are taken by the Hungarian side unilaterally, without approval by the Slovak side. That is the reason why during my talks with Prime Minister [Horn] in Hungary I asked for compensation in kind. I realize that it is not possible to financially compensate Slovakia for damages incurred by the Nagymaros part of the project. These damages are in the excess of 2.2 billion Slovak korunas so far. So we proposed that Hungary, to an extent compensating this sum, could let Slovak companies enter Hungary's privatization process. This proposal was neither accepted nor rejected. It remains an open issue for further talks.

[Bartisek] The Czech Republic has confirmed that your meeting with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus will take place in April. You said in Press Club that after the meeting of the two presidents, the resulting atmosphere had delayed your talks with the Czech prime minister. You even said that, in a sense, this meeting was an offense to Slovakia. Can this fact have any direct impact on the development of our future relations? In your view, in what respect this meeting was disrespectful to Slovakia?

[Meciar] I have heard about the Czech side's statement concerning the place and the time of the meeting. I am sorry to say that until this day I do not know anything about it [as heard]. It is not usual for such statements to be made in advance.

As for President Havel's statements concerning Slovakia, they were inappropriate and they did not reflect the political situation in Slovakia. On the contrary, in a sense these statements passed on to the others the reflection of this situation in a corrupted way.

I have to take into consideration that all this took place in the presence of Slovakia's president. It is not common to voice concerns over this situation. This is close to the limit beyond which it means interfering or at least damaging interests of the other side.

If this was the case, the Slovak side has reacted already. I shall not travel to Prague to attend talks at which my presence was already announced. Some of the measures that had been discussed by some members of my cabinet in preliminary talks were not carried through. Therefore, in view of all the above facts, the April meeting remains an open issue.

Neither I, nor the foreign minister have been briefed on the content of the presidential talks. We can only respond to public statements and we can react to the fact that it is unusual to do it this way. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] Public reaction to the absence of ministers at a news conference after the government meeting this week varied. Several journalists reacted by saying that the step they had taken by publishing blank front pages in their papers was a warning signal for the National Council rather than the government. The reaction followed but it came from the government. Is this a temporary measure, or is some real compromise being sought since in this case citizens were so to say, punished by being deprived of information by government officials? Journalists believe that spokesmen cannot fully replace government officials, for example at a news conference.

[Meciar] I realize that this path leads nowhere. But it is also up to the journalists to do their share of their duty among their ranks. They should reflect on their professionalism, ethics, and what and whom they serve.

I do not think that the citizens are being deprived. We never avoid public opportunities where people have a chance to get to know our views. However, we want to prevent a situation whereby cabinet members leave cabinet sessions, go to news conferences and their human dignity is belittled and offended. We want to avoid a situation when cabinet members—highly qualified and hard-working people—provide information but citizens never get it. Instead, a commentary is published on words which the citizens never had a chance to hear.

To sum up, we do not want to deprive citizens of information but we do not want to risk our honor, our profession, and our work performance by putting it in the hands of someone who will then act as a Sarajevo sniper, shoot at cabinet members, invent rumors and ideas regardless of possible damage to the country and regardless of truth. [passage omitted]

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Publishers react in a way which makes it clear that they do not want the protection of the domestic market for their own benefit. They do not want the entities in the publishing market to be transparent. We acknowledge this fact. Serious decisions on the shaping of this market and on the access of new entities to it will have to be taken. We acknowledge that the publishers who whitewashed do not want this market for themselves any more. To us, this is the fact on which we shall base our future decisions. [passage omitted] [end recording]

New Director General of Slovak Telecommunications

AU1703204995 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by "vd": "Director of Slovak Telecommunications Dismissed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Alexander Rezes, minister of transportation, communications, and public works, yesterday dismissed Jozef Kuban from the post of director of Slovak Telecommunications [ST] and Vladimir Zeman from the post of director general of the Communications Section. As we were informed by the ST Press Department, the vacated position of director general of the Communications Section has been taken up by Peter Halus. At the Press Department of the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works [MDSVP], we were told that the new director's name would be faxed to us that day. When we asked about the reason for the dismissals, we received the reply that the minister, who is responsible for his department, chooses people he trusts and is under no obligation to explain his reasons. In the afternoon we received a fax, from which it transpires that Vladimir Zleman was appointed by the minister as director general of the MDSVP Budget and Strategy Section. Furthermore, Minister Rezes—we quote literally from the fax—"submitted to the ST Supervisory Board the proposal to appoint Peter Valent, previously director general of the VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works]-Informatika Kosice Ltd., as ST director general. The ST Supervisory Board approved the submitted proposal."

Civic Party Reelects Ethnic Hungarian Chairman

LD1903144095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bratislava, Laszlo A. Nagy has been reelected chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party. At its session that ended in the early morning hours, the general assembly, in addition to the reelection of officials, also adopted a new program declaration.

Nagy said after the meeting that the national existence of the Hungarians in Slovakia was threatened; therefore, the general assembly called for a program against assimilation.

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Horn Explains Austerity Package, Sets Out Goals

LD1803211995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1915 GMT 18 Mar 95

[Statement by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, I respectfully ask for a few minutes of your time. I would like to again meet the need to give a clearer idea of the government's measures and intentions.

I have experienced the same thing as you. Our decision of 12 March caused an outcry and divided society in several respects. I know many people think that this government is no better than its predecessors, and that it is trying to settle things at the expense of families that are in a difficult situation already. I understand the emotions. However, all of us have to try and act by looking at the real situation of the country.

Esteemed viewers, nobody can seriously think that the present government has destroyed a flourishing economy and a rich country in a matter of a few months. No. Our homeland has never been a rich country. Nobody can be serious in thinking that a liberal government takes pleasure in plaguing society.

During long years an enormous amount of internal and external debt has been accumulated. Perhaps some of you do not know that even the interest of Hungary's present debt is being paid with foreign loans.

The country has reached the limit of internal insolvency. If this comes about, there will be no foreign partner of ours who will be willing to help us. Then hospitals, schools, state factories, and institutions would have to be closed; public transport, the operation of the post office, and energy supplies would have to be limited; and hundreds of thousands of people would be thrown out on the streets and many more would be terrified by the uncertainty of their existence.

It is possible to criticize the road leading up to this, and a merciless world; however, that will not alter the facts, the fact that at the moment we are forced to live in this situation. We cannot even count on any improvement until our products become competitive on the world market, until the number of jobs in Hungary increases, until production becomes genuinely profitable.

Therefore, the aim of the measure decided upon on 12 March is to make Hungary a country worth investing in, to modernize production, to boost export, and to create prestige for Hungarian products on the home markets. Life in the villages and towns alike can only be improved by a production and service industry worthy of European standards of the end of the millennium. To achieve all this, money, a series of government measures that are reconsidered time and time again, and the preservation of international trust are necessary.

I know the outcry was mainly generated by the announcement of cuts in the benefits affecting the livelihood of families. No matter how painful, we have to face the fact that the country cannot afford to pay out 27 percent of its GDP on social expenditure. Countries much more affluent than we provide less. The adjustment of state expenditure to our actual means is unavoidable. This is a break with the prior ideology and practice and, in many respects, it is also a break from my previous convictions about these issues.

You could witness how much I have tried to avoid further tribulations of our society. However, I had to come to the conclusion that only this kind of reform can lay the foundation for our prosperity. This road can be made easier by a fair distribution of burdens— for in a country tormented by serious financial crisis and the burdens of transformation, it is not fair to give family allowances or free education to affluent families.

A fairer distribution of the burden can be achieved, and we will achieve it. This, naturally, will also concern the government, which ordered strict saving measures in its own ranks. We will reduce public administration expenditures, cut managers' salaries at loss-making companies, abolish severance pay of millions of forints. We will soon disclose measures to drive back the black economy and corruption. We are not conducting a short-term campaign but striving to create conditions that are in accordance with society's sense of justice and express wishes.

I can pledge that even with the austerity measures in effect, we will protect the needy, and we will put an end to impoverishment.

Millions of people gave us a vote of confidence last spring. Please do not turn away from us. We have made mistakes several times and we have not been consistent enough, but we have not lost our way. We are still guided by the things we were elected for. If you support us we will put an end to the crisis. Transformation has to be completed in every field. This is the condition to the nation, for catching up with the community of the developed countries.

The government's modernization program will be finalized as early as 1995. As a matter of fact, this is the action plan for joining the EU. This accession is in the interest of the entire nationt. It is in the interest, as well, of those esteemed citizens who have not [seen] and cannot see a pledge of success of this historic undertaking in our government. I have the offer of cooperation. The fact that the government is acting deliberately against the artificial division of society provides favorable conditions for this cooperation. We are in favor of sensible dialogues, rational agreements, and the joint undertaking of tasks.

We are progressing step by step toward the improvement of outside conditions. It is reassuring that the developed world has received our decisions in a very favorable manner.

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We have begun to regain the lost Eastern markets. Our security has improved by our basic treaty with Slovakia, and we are ready to conclude a basic treaty of similar content with Romania. This serves the interest of Hungarians in Hungary and abroad, as well as that of the favorable European processes.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, we will put our house in order. By the end of the parliamentary cycle we will accomplish everything we have undertaken in the government program. We are not pursuing a policy of resignation but one of common sense. I believe that confidence will replace the sea of bitterness. In the hope of this, thank you for listening to me.

MNB Devaluing Forint To Forestall Speculators

LD1703183695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Beginning yesterday, the National Bank of Hungary [MNB] has begun devaluing the forint on a daily basis.

According to press reports, the exchange rate of the forint will be devalued against a basket of foreign currencies by 0.06 percent each day during the first half of the year. This amounts to a monthly loss of 1.8-1.9 percent in the value of the forint, which is in accordance with plans announced on 12 March. By this measure the MNB wants to reduce the chances of speculation.

Article Describes 'Sliding Fixed Exchange Rate'

AU1703172995 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Mar 95 p 1

[Report signed "T.I.": "Devaluation Not Weekly—The Forint Will Be Reduced Daily"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Contrary to previous reports, according to our information, since yesterday the forint is being devalued on a daily, rather than weekly, basis. The so-called "sliding fixed exchange rate" that was decided at the 12 March meeting of the government is implemented through a daily 0.06-percent devaluation.

From now on, the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] will reduce the forint's official rate by 0.06 percent every weekday. Only Thursdays are an exception, when—in accordance with the two-day deadline of international foreign exchange deals—the exchange rate will also be changed by Saturday's and Sunday's portion (altogether by 0.18 percent).

MNB Executive Director Csaba Pasztor said that this technique means a monthly 1.816- or 1.877-percent loss of value that well approximates the monthly 1.9-percent value loss planned for the remaining part of the first six months. Pasztor justified the need for daily devaluation by saying that everyone would adjust their deals to the given day in case of a less frequent but preannounced change.

Demonstration Protests Treaty With Slovakia

LD1803221595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Non-parliamentary parties are protesting against the signing of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. Levente Suekoesd reports on a demonstration in Budapest by 14 civic organizations.

[Suekoesd] Dr. Laszlo Nagy, on behalf of the bloc called Civic Organizations for Hungarians [Civil Szervezetek a Magyarsagert], said this protest rally came about because of an unlawful development of the Hungarian-Slovak sham treaty, which is aimed against the Hungarian nation and means a second Trianon. Dr. Nagy was the organizer of the anti-Ceausescu demonstration in Hoesoek Square in 1988.

The crowd of 4,000-5,000 repeatedly shouted 'down with Horn' and 'liberal mafia' as a reaction to Laszlo Muranyi's criticism of the heads and employees of the radio and television and to Laszlo Nagy's criticism of the Hungarian-Slovak treaty. A letter that will be sent on behalf of the demonstrators and the bloc of Civic Organizations in favor of Hungarians to the chairman of the security conference to be held in Paris, was read out loud. Among other things, the letter says that Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn does not have the Hungarian people's authorization to sign the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty.

Kovacs on Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty

LD1703172995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Telephone interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by unidentified studio announcer on 17 March—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Good morning.

[Kovacs] Good morning.

[Announcer] Mr. Minister, what made the breakthrough in the talks last night? Yesterday, you held talks with the Slovak Government delegation on the basic treaty for more than seven hours; finally you stood up to say that the basic treaty is essentially ready, and only technical details have to be clarified.

[Kovacs] After the foreign ministers talks on Tuesday evening [14 March], it was obvious that the open questions can be listed under three categories. The first category includes questions of lesser significance, about which we said at that time that they could be solved through mutual concessions at the level of prime ministers. These problems did not affect basic interests.

The other group of questions was related to the lawsuit in the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros [Boes-Nagymaros] matter [before the International Court of Justice] in The Hague. To these questions we had to find a solution that was

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acceptable to lawyers so that this solution does not prejudice either side's position before a decision to be made in The Hague in the future.

The third group of questions was in connection with the fundamental problem: To what documents will the agreement refer? These international documents, so far, have meant only a political obligation for the two countries, Slovakia and Hungary, that signed them—but from now on they will have to be considered as internal law. Until last night, Slovakia was averse to one of the now-widely-known recommendations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Recommendation No. 1201. This was the key issue, on which the agreement depended; and this is the question in which we managed to achieve a breakthrough. Late last night [16th March] Prime Minister Meciar finally agreed that Recommendation No. 1201 will be included in the bilateral basic treaty as a legal document.

[Announcer] Does this mean that the document will refer to Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 as a document that is a part of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty.

[Kovacs] Yes, this is correct. And this recommendation is accompanied by three other documents: the Council of Europe's framework agreement on minority rights, over which there was no debate; an earlier recommendation of the UN General Assembly, over which there was not much debate either; and a third document, the 1990 Copenhagen document of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. Through a heated debate, we earlier managed to have this one accepted as part of the agreement; and now the abovementioned Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe is the fourth international document included in the treaty.

[Announcer] Have the Slovaks asked anything in return? What price, so to speak, did we have to pay for this—although you have already said that neither side had to make a compromise that would harm its national interests.

[Kovacs] Well, after we had both experimented with various texts in order to make our position acceptable to the other side, finally Prime Minister Meciar suggested inserting a formula after Recommendation No. 1201. This formula gives a kind of interpretation, though not a restrictive one, which reads something, like—I cannot recall it by heart: The sides respect individual and civic rights, including the rights of those belonging to national minorities.

This is not a restrictive interpretation—we could even say that the document is precisely about this—therefore this does not mean any kind of problem for the Hungarian side.

[Announcer] Doesn't it mean that minority rights will only be recognized as individual rights in the future?

[Kovacs] The matter has long been in dispute. As a matter of fact, nobody recognizes the phrase of collective rights—not only Slovakia, but also the Western countries. However, we have found an acceptable compromise formula in international documents. It reads something like: People belonging to a minority can exercise these rights individually or in a community with others. This formula is included [in the treaty]; consequently it cannot be interpreted exclusively as individual rights. If we inserted a clarification to Recommendation No. 1201 document whereby it only refers to individual rights, it would have been a restrictive interpretation, and in this case we could have said what you mentioned in your question. Here we say only that individual rights have to be respected.

[Announcer] Mr. Minister, could you tell us in one sentence what this Recommendation N0. 1201—this part on autonomies—is about? Because the debate was about that, and that was probably was the key part of the basic treaty.

[Kovacs] Yes, the 11th point of Recommendation No. 1201 lays down the possibility of the establishment of autonomous organizations.

[Announcer] Thank you very much. [passage omitted]

When will you finally sign the treaty, on Sunday or on Monday? This is important because both dates have been mentioned, and listeners have telephoned, asking how it is possible for the text of the agreement to be published on Monday when it will be signed just Sunday.

[Kovacs] According to plans, the two prime ministers will sign the document on Sunday. This is really a technical question. We were talking about it on the way home last night—the question of where this agreement could be signed. It has already been decided that the scene will be Paris. There is no other option.

Comparing the two languages, experts will finalize the text today. The agreement—in sufficient number of copies—will be typed today. We will have to take a few copies with us, since this agreement will be incorporated into the Paris European Stability Pact. This is why it was urged that the agreement be completed by this date, if possible. [passage omitted]

The fact that this deadline had put pressure on Hungarian and Slovak diplomacy had certain advantages. [passage omitted]

Another remark is that I think this final decision would not have been made if this pressure from the EU did not exist.

[Announcer] Let us touch upon the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. Yesterday, you held relatively short talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu. If you had continued these talks for a bit longer, could you have managed to achieve a breakthrough in this basic treaty too?

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[Kovacs] No. When Mr. Melescanu arrived, I proposed holding a private meeting. It turned out very soon at the meeting that there were six open questions in which he had no mandate—or at least he did not have a mandate yesterday—to achieve any progress: The first question is the European norms and documents we refer to. He considered Recommendation No. 1201 unacceptable. Next, the concrete formulation of the right to education in the mother tongue and the question of the right of combination and assembly [egyesuelesi jog], including the formation of political parties by minorities—that is to say, the legitimacy of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR]; and the interpretation of the observation of internal laws—because nobody disputes the fact that they have to be observed by the minorities, but we cannot accept a formula that seems to say that it only applies to minorities. And then a few other questions—for example, the question of the monitoring mechanism, where the Romanian side rejected the institutionalization of bilateral monitoring: for example, to set up a Hungarian-Romanian mixed committee on monitoring the minority issue. Let me add that this was accepted weeks ago by the Slovak side without any conditions.

[Announcer] The observation of the basic treaty could be the topic of another discussion. Now, lastly, I would like to ask you: When will the text of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty be published?

[Kovacs] According to plans, the signing will take place in Paris sometime in the late afternoon, and we will give it to the press—with an embargo, of course—and the Monday papers will publish it. We will release the embargo at the moment of the signing.

[Announcer] Thank you very much for the interview.

[Kovacs] Thank you.

Kovacs Discusses Issues in Treaty With Slovakia

LD1903223295 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by unidentified announcer before Kovacs' departure for Paris for the signing of Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty; place and date not given; from "The Week" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The first paragraph of Article 3 says the two sides confirm that they do not have territorial demands against each other and that they will not make such claims in the future either. The opposition says that with this, we have renounced the possibility of initiating talks in the future on border changes by mutual agreement.

[Kovacs] Should such an opportunity arise, then naturally, this basic treaty will not mean an obstacle to it. A border change by peaceful means, through negotiations, postulates the two sides' innermost intention for this. Should this intention exist, then the sides will put this point of the treaty aside.

[Announcer] According to Paragraph B of Clause 2 of Article 15, people belonging to national minorities have a right to equality before the law and to equal legal protection. So, can people belonging to a minority or minority parties turn to an international court of justice if they feel that their minority rights have been violated?

[Kovacs] Of course they can. However, it is also obvious that they should first turn to domestic courts of justice. If they do not get legal redress, then they can turn to international forums—for example to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

[Announcer] The Council of Europe's Recommendation 1201 has been included in the treaty. However, as some extra sentences have been added to it, the opposition's interpretation is that in the end the minorities have not received the right to self-determination and autonomy.

[Kovacs] If the opposition took the trouble to read this half-sentence—not some other sentences—which talks about observing individual and citizen's rights, including the rights of people belonging to national minorities, then it would know that this half-sentence does not diminish the value of Recommendation 1201 at all. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The opposition also says that the issue of the supervision of the treaty's implementation has not been solved either, as they think that the representatives of the minorities will not be on the joint committee in charge of supervision.

[Kovacs] The wording that the two sides agree on employing bilateral mechanisms—including a joint minority committee—and multilateral mechanisms, according to the procedural rules of the Council of Europe and the OSCE, makes the minorities' participation possible. It is true, however, that it does not make it compulsory. That is what we have managed to achieve for the time being. So, the minorities' participation is not ruled out.

[Announcer] What do you think this basic treaty is like?

[Kovacs] [passage omitted] Those who only talk about the defects of the treaty do not take into consideration that Hungary did not conclude this treaty in a vacuum and did not formulate the points of the treaty alone, but within a given international system of conditions and with a given partner.

There is another thing I would like to add: This treaty is not only about the 600,000 Hungarians in Slovakia but also about the 10 million Hungarians in Hungary. Thus, these two have to be evaluated together. [passage omitted]

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Items in Draft Slovak Basic Treaty Questioned

LD1703215495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leaders of the Hungarian parties of Slovakia familiarized themselves with the draft of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty today. They issued a statement in connection with it. First and foremost, they questioned the lack of guarantees for the implementation of the basic treaty, the preservation of minority institutions, and the assertion of rights. Therefore the Hungarians of Slovakia want the observation of the basic treaty to be revised every year. If it is found that Slovakia does not keep its obligations, Hungary should annul the treaty.

Levente Suekoesd interviewed Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs; Laszlo A Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party in Slovakia; Bela [also known as Vojtech] Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement; and Miklos Duray, chairman of Coexistence. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kovacs] I think that both countries came off well, and the Slovaks of Hungary and the Hungarians of Slovakia came off well too.

[Suekoesd] Are there control mechanisms in the text?

[Kovacs] Yes, both bilateral and multilateral control mechanisms have been included.

[Suekoesd] What is your aim with this statement? What do you expect from it?

[A Nagy] I can tell you honestly that with the wording of our stance, we tried to be of help to the Hungarian and the Slovak governments in concluding a good treaty, and we want them to feel the responsibility of this accord.

[Suekoesd] Do you hope that the control mechanisms can be improved or extended after the treaty is concluded?

[A Nagy] The treaty does not contain the kind of control mechanism that the Hungarian side had proposed. It contains a weaker and less effective control mechanism. In our stance, we said that we want the control mechanism of the Council of Europe and the OSCE to be made effective. We asked the governments to work toward the creation of these control mechanisms beyond this treaty, too. The Hungarians abroad—both in Slovakia and in Romania—have expected the basic treaty to be able to significantly change their situation. We have to admit that the finalized basic treaty cannot meet these expectations.

[Bugar] With our published position, we would like to signal, first of all, that, through its decision, the Hungarian Government should be aware that it ultimately takes responsibility for certain things. If it is possible to misinterpret the treaty—naturally it is a matter of somebody's wanting to; but, if, at a later stage, somebody has the political desire to misinterpret it—then, in our view, it will be possible because the treaty is capable of misinterpretation. Therefore, what we wanted to signal in our stand is that, should this misinterpretation take place, we will be subjected to the kind of negative developments that we outlined in our stand and, naturally, somebody must bear the responsibility if that happens. But it will not be our responsibility.

[Suekoesd] Miklos Duray is chairman of Coexistence. In your view, if the treaty is signed—and there is a good chance that it will be signed—do you, the Hungarian politicians in Slovakia, see a possibility that subsequent further agreements could include the guarantees that have been removed from this one?

[Duray] Naturally there is a chance for this, in theory. For example, if a cultural and educational affairs agreement is concluded between Slovakia and Hungary, or economic agreements are reached that can support economic cooperation—for example, in those regions where the Hungarians live in Slovakia...[rephrases] in other words, subsequent agreements may be drafted through which Euro-region-type settlement alliances transcending borders can be created.

[Suekoesd] However, from your statements one can feel that you do not really believe this.

[Duray] It would be more honest to say that we do not believe that the Slovak side's attitude to the Hungarian-Slovak treaty is positive. We are not paid cheerleaders, so we do not have to be optimistic. Come what may, we are responsible for the future of 600,000 people [estimated number of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia], regardless of our relationship with either government, and we know the kind of difficulties we face. [end recording]

Opposition Parties Ask Horn Not To Sign Treaty

LD1803205695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Nearly 24 hours before Prime Minister Gyula Horn is due to sign the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty in Paris, the opposition parties called on the prime minister not to sign the document in its present form. Levente Suekoesd reports on a joint statement of the parties of the Civic Alliance—the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and the Alliance of Young Democrats [FiDeSz].

[Suekoesd] According to a statement issued jointly today by the KDNP, MDF, and FiDeSz, the government coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats has failed both in the sphere of economic life and social security, and now is giving up national interests.

The heads of the three opposition parties call attention to the fact that the draft of the Hungarian-Slovak basic

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treaty does not include a reference to the constitutional state-forming status of minorities, or to their being part of the Hungarian nation in a cultural sense.

MDF Chairman Lajos Fur, FiDeSz Chairman Viktor Orban, and KDNP Deputy Chairman Miklos Gaspar are of the view that the Hungarian side made unilateral concessions for which it did get anything in return. Also, the Slovaks did not give guarantees either.

They consider it unacceptable that the Hungarian prime minister brought the leaders of the ethnic Hungarians of Slovakia into a difficult situation, and he took a decision in basic foreign affairs issues without asking for the opinion of the Hungarian opposition parties.

Like the ethnic Hungarian parties of Slovakia, the heads of the three opposition parties also ask the Hungarian Government to work out a concrete package for the implementation of what is set down in the treaty.

Among other things, a clause on the minorities' self-determination should be added to the basic treaty, reads the joint statement in which the FiDeSz, MDF, and KDNP call on the prime minister not to sign the treaty in its present form.

Minority Protection Agreement Drafted in Zagreb

LD1703201295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The draft of the Croatian-Hungarian minority protection agreement has been completed in Zagreb. Deputy Foreign Minister Smiljan Simac and Erika Toerzsoek, deputy chairman of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, headed the two delegations of experts, which reached agreement on all points of the accord.

Representatives of the ethnic Croats in Hungary and ethnic Hungarians in Croatia participated in the negotiations. The most important point of the agreement is that both countries guarantee the living conditions of the Hungarian and Croat nationalities, respectively, as well the safeguarding of their identity, language, and culture.

According to our information, the minority protection agreement is expected to be signed by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in Paris at the European Stability Pact conference [on 20 March]

Demolition of Dam at Nagymaros Begins 17 Mar

LD1703153295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The circular dam at Nagymaros, which was constructed seven years ago, was cut through today.

The dam will be demolished by the middle of 1996. By that time the construction of both final river banks will be finished and the rehabilitation of the flora will also be completed. The right side of the river bed will be filled in and the present shipping canal will cease to exist. Therefore, the middle section of the circular dam will become the new river bank at Visegrad.

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Foreign Minister Denies Remarks on Tanks to Iran

LD1703175495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, minister of foreign affairs, has denied that he told the REUTER agency that Poland wanted to break the contracts for the sale of tanks to Iran. The minister said that existing obligations and contracts in the arms trade would be fulfilled and added that he knew nothing about future obligations.

In the minister's view, the matter of Polish arms exports to Iran was artificially blown up by the press.

Comments on NATO Expansion

LD1703195795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1645 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar—Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski said at today's news conference in Warsaw that there were no political documents at the Foreign Ministry concerning conditions or a price which Poland would have to pay for joining NATO. He said that it was difficult for him to judge to what extent the press reports on confidential negotiations between the United States and Russia on the issue had been true.

"I consider this a press discussion," the minister said, adding that Poland had never accepted and was not going to accept a principle under which it would be treated as a "poor relation" or a third rate partner. He announced that in the coming weeks he was going to pay a visit to the United States; probably he would also have talks with the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev during the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] foreign ministers' meeting in Paris on the pact of stability in Europe, due to begin on 20 March.

Bartoszewski stated that one can understand reasons behind feelings and reactions of Poland's eastern neighbors towards the prospects of the expansion of NATO. He recalled that Poland had not reacted to political choices by the Ukraine or Belarus and expected the same in return; this does not mean, however, that in future the roads taken by Poland and these states will become divergent. "The matters between Minsk, Kiev, and Moscow are their matters and our talks with Western partners is our business", he said.

Bartoszewski let it be known that there was no decision yet, either by the government or the president, regarding the extent and form of our participation in festivities marking the end of World War II. He expressed the view that Poland should be significantly present at the celebrations in Berlin, the capital of the country which had attacked Poland in 1939 and, and the city which was taken, with the participation of the Poles; "this, however, depends on the hosts of the celebrations."

The minister said that there was no misunderstanding between him and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy regarding the appointments of ambassadors or within the ministry itself. Some candidacies have not been agreed as there were only preliminary consultations held. He assured that, as at other ministries, there would be new appointments at the Foreign Ministry and expressed the hope that difficulties in appointing undersecretaries of state would not last long. "This is not a matter of political ambitions; none of my candidates would be representing political parties, but would be somebody with diplomatic experience," he said.

Chancellor Kohl To Visit Poland This Year

LD2003112195 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1049 GMT 20 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw (DDP/ADN)—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is to visit Poland this year, German Transport Minister Matthias Wissmann announced before journalists in Warsaw today. Wissmann is in the Polish capital for the signing of German-Polish frontier bridge accords and a shipping agreement.

An exact date for the chancellor's visit to Warsaw has not yet been fixed. Wissmann merely said that it would not be as late as the end of the year.

Wissmann met Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak this morning to discuss with him details of Kohl's trip to Poland. Contrary to an announcement by the German delegation accompanying Wissmann, a meeting between Wissmann and the new Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy did not take place. The transport minister emphasized that with Kohl's trip to Poland the German Government sought to strengthen its efforts to help Poland in the process of moving closer to the European Union and NATO. Kohl had an "overriding interest" in the transport problems at the German-Polish frontier.

The German transport minister underlined that the German Government was doing everything to make clear to the Poles the special nature of German-Polish relations. Wissmann said this in reply to questions from journalists who wanted to know why the new Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski was not being invited by the German Government to attend the state ceremony at the Berlin Schauspielhaus on 8 March in memory of the end of the war 50 years ago.

Wissmann also spoke with Luczak about the thousands of cars stolen in Germany and sold underhand in Poland. Wissmann told the news agency DDP/ADN his impression was that the Polish Government was making great efforts to help solve this problem.

Deputy Minister: Arms Industry Condition 'Better'

WS1703150995 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 17 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by J.K.K.: "Defense Industry In Better Situation; Restructuring Protected"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] "Not many branches of industry are as protected and favored as the defense industry. Despite that, the number of demands submitted by the trade unions is not decreasing," said Deputy Industry and Trade Minister Roman Czerwinski.

According to him, on the basis of the existing law the government is implementing all the programs related to the restructuring of the defense industry and it is meeting the commitments signed with unionists.

The unionists of "Solidarity" "manipulate the figures when they say that government orders for the arms industry are decreasing." According to the deputy minister, they have been increasing since 1992. The worst situation was in 1991, when less than a trillion zlotys [Z] were earmarked for orders for the arms industry (in prices comparable with 1994). In 1992 the orders amounted to nearly Z2 trillion; in 1993 they reached Z2.2 trillion, and in 1994 Z2.7 trillion. In 1995 they will amount to Z3.7 trillion. "This is happening because the National Defense Ministry has introduced some preferential policies toward the defense industry, by treating it as one of the foundations of the Polish defense system and by even limiting the imports of military equipment," said Roman Czerwinski.

He also reported that settlement or agreement procedures were applied in 29 out of 31 arms industry companies, which resulted in a considerable restructuring of their debt. In most cases companies will pay off no more than 30 percent of their debt. The rest has been either annulled or passed on to creditors as shares. "The restructuring comprised Z10 trillion; as much as Z8 trillion of this sum was, in various forms, annulled. In this way the increase in the current indebtedness of the companies was curbed. We estimate that by 1996 the companies' level of debt will drop to the level of their three-month turnover. It is a standard level which guarantees normal functioning in companies," the deputy minister explained. He recalled that there was a time when the unionists put in question the possibility of applying settlement procedures.

The problem of receiving payment for arms that have been exported to Iraq and the former Yugoslavia was resolved as well—in 1993. It was compensation—Z500 billion of the money that the companies owed to the State Treasury. This year an agreement was signed with the Russian Government, which will make it possible to resolve the problem of the money owed by the former Soviet Union to the arms industry, aviation industry, and to the North Shipyard. As much as $150 million has been earmarked for this purpose from the state budget, and the cash will be deposited in the companies' bank accounts. The demand, submitted by the unionists, in line with which 20 percent of the companies of this branch of industry should be given to its employees, was termed by Roman Czerwinski as one that did not have any legal basis. Asked about the plan to stop the sale of arms to Iran, which had been announced, the deputy minister said that "only the Committee of Defense Issues of the Council of Ministers is entitled to decide this problem."

Kolodko Wants Sejm To Overturn Tax Ruling

LD2003101395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 20 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, has expressed the opinion that the Sejm will overturn the ruling by the Constitutional Tribunal on the incompatibility of this year's taxation law with the Constitution. The deputy prime minister said in an interview with Polish Radio that, as the Sejm had approved this law by passing it in November of last year and overturning the presidential veto against it in December, one would hope that it had not changed its position. Kolodko announced that the government would present to the Sejm its official stand on the negative effects of the possible adoption of the Constitutional Tribunal's ruling.

Kolodko announced that inflation in March reached approximately 1.6 percent. He said that it creates a real prospect for maintaining the annual inflation rate at the level of 17 percent as planned. The deputy prime minister expressed the view that, contrary to popular opinion, inflation had not been prompted by a rise in official prices but by the excessive creation of money arising from the unchecked growth in currency reserves at the Polish National Bank [NBP]. According to Kolodko, the NBP is not able to cope with this problem.

KK Reelects Head, Proposes Presidential Candidate

LD1903131295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1206 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Mar—Kazimierz Michal Ujazdowski has been reelected party chairman at the second national congress of the Conservative Coalition [KK]. Seventy-two delegates voted for him, two voted against, and one ballot was declared void.

The delegates adopted the resolution supporting Professor Adam Strzembosz as candidate for president.

In a letter to the congress, Strzembosz expressed thanks for the KK's confidence and the support for his candidacy.

"In my public activity, I have made every effort—and I will continue to do so—so that the natural laws of the individual and the family and the principles of the state of law and order and of the common good, as written in your program documents, are observed in the Polish Republic," Strzembosz writes in his letter.

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Izetbegovic: Not To Extend Cease-Fire 30 Apr

LD1803202895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 95

[Statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic after returning from Germany, in Sarajevo on 18 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I believe that our public has been informed about the basic facts pertinent to the visit by the state delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Federal Republic of Germany. This visit took place at the invitation of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The main characteristics of the visit were its very intensive program and concrete results achieved in the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres.

Our hosts evidently cared for securing a political consensus with Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, we had separate talks with deputies and leaderships of the main German parties represented in the German Bundestag—the Christian Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party of Germany, and Liberal Party of Germany. We also had talks with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Federal Assembly. Our main meetings were naturally those with German President Herzog, German Chancellor Kohl, the Bundestag president, and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

In addition to this, our hosts proposed that I should address the German Foreign Policy Association, a nongovernmental association that is always present in formulating and approving strategic orientations of German foreign policy; it is a very influential organization. I delivered a half hour address to the association. This was the main framework of the program, which as you can see, was very extensive.

Our hosts assessed this visit as being very useful—in this we agree with them—as our (?main) talks were characterized by a very high degree of agreement and identical views on many issues that were raised.

Our public has been informed that Germany is continuing to support Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it will continue with this orientation also in the future. This was confirmed at a news conference by Minister Kinkel. All our hosts—from MP's to the state's top leaders—confirmed such an orientation.

We have reached an agreement on a series of state issues and ways of their resolution. Germany understands our decision not to extend the cease-fire upon its expiration on 30 April unless the Serb side accepts the Contact Group's peace plan. Of course, this does not mean that on 1 May we will launch any offensives or that we are planning them at the moment. At the same time, this means that we will very effectively defend ourselves if need be. We have said several times and we are saying it again: We shall negotiate whenever we can and fight whenever we are forced to. Germany sees our position as a continuation of our constructive policy, which is open to all initiatives conductive to a just peace.

Until further notice, we shall remain true to the Contact Group's peace plan. We have discussed the Federation in very concrete terms and were given assurances that Germany would not spare any effort and money to help us out in the implementation of the Bosnian-Croat Federation. Our stance is that the Federation is a step in the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina—this stance is shared by the Federal Republic of Germany.

Germany, which is already giving a lot of humanitarian aid, has agreed to open channels for economic assistance to Bosnia. Here we mean the assistance to bring factories into working condition and to secure raw materials, so that we can start to employ people. This is just the beginning.

As is known, our economic delegation headed by Economics Minister Faruk Smailbegovic will travel to the Federal Republic of Germany soon. I think that this will happen by the end of this month or at the beginning of April. It will work out in more details what we have agreed to in principle. We have agreed in principle to Germany helping the reconstruction and completion of the medical center here in Sarajevo, and to help ensure that the EU takes some sort of sponsorship over health institutions and hospitals in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Germany will have some sort of sponsorship over the Sarajevo medical center.

Germany has also agreed to help us technically and perhaps financially to ensure that we shall have satellite television, so that we can have more intensive and better links with our diaspora in Europe, especially in Germany.

Of course, we have not missed the opportunity to thank our hosts for everything they have done for Bosnia, starting with and above all for receiving a large number of our refugees, which number over 350,000 in Germany; then for humanitarian aid and constant political assistance and support to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the United Nations and EU. I wish to stress that Germany's importance has been growing on the world stage. It is not just an economic, political, and cultural superpower but is also a moral superpower in the world today. It is confirming this also through its attitude toward our just cause.

Finally, I would like to stress that state presidency members Pejanovic and Komsic, as well as Foreign Minister Ljubijankic, were also in our delegation, and Pejanovic and Komsic's contribution in making this visit a success.

Finally, last night after the full program that I have just outlined, we had three hours of talks with our countrymen, a large group of our countrymen, around 100 of them from all over Germany. We had talks until after midnight. In these talks we told them [words indistinct]

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about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They told us about their problems and the position of our expatriate community in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ganic Rejects U.S. Appeal

LD1803131595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Republic's presidency and vice president of the Federation, has rejected an appeal by the U.S. Administration to our state leadership to agree on the further extension of the current cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which expires on 1 May.

We do not want to let the Serbs think that they can sit easily and expect us to agree on their occupation of 70 percent of our territory—Ganic told journalists in the National Press Center in Washington.

At the same time, he explained how he highly appreciated President Clinton's and his administration's help in the efforts to implement the idea of a federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and said that the talks with top U.S. officials had produced certain progress.

Delic Assess Combat Readiness at Meeting

AU1703195395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A two-day meeting between General Rasim Delic, chief of General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the General Staff's and corps' high-ranking commanders ended in Zenica today. The meeting—attended by the General Staff commander, commanders of the General Staff departments, and corps commanders—focused on and highly assessed the results of the activity aimed at strengthening the combat readiness of the units and commands.

Particular attention was devoted to the results and assignments connected to the four-month cessation of hostilities agreement with the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor which went into force on 1 January of this year. It was assessed that all attempts by the aggressor to launch fresh offensive operations in order to realize the military goals that he has failed to realize in the three years of war would be met more readily than ever before. This is stated in the statement by the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Delic on Force

LD1703201995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 17 Mar (SRNA)—Muslim [Bosnian] Army Commander Rasim Delic told Muslim radio in Zenica that, in his view, the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna "is a state within a state and in reality exactly the same as the Srpska republic."

"We in the Supreme Command agree that increasingly more vocal rumors about the if-not-by-peaceful-then-by-forceful-means option are dangerous, but we ask ourselves whether such ideas might be justified," Delic stressed when talking about the Croat-Muslim Federation and the status of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna within the Federation.

The Muslim commander justified this, as he put it, daring statement with recent statements made by Herceg-Bosna officials Kresimir Zubak, Ivan Bender, and Jadranko Prlic, who stressed that they viewed the Federation as a new entity, which, according to Delic, was tantamount to "disintegration of Bosnia and not to reintegration of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the Muslims see the Federation."

"I am afraid that we shall have to think seriously about the use of nonpolitical means. As the army commander, I can say responsibly that the full force of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will be behind this," Delic stressed.

The Muslim general voiced his concern that the division of Bosnia between Serbs and Croats was still an option, and then he went on to conclude that Muslims would never agree to this.

Ganic Says Croats Have 'Definitely Given Up'

LD1703124795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla, 17 Mar (SRNA)—Ejup Ganic, member of Izetbegovic's presidency and vice president of the so-called Croat-Muslim Federation, said in Tuzla today that the "Croats have definitely given up the project of the Federation outlined in the Washington Agreement."

"The constitutional provisions envisaged the establishment of federal cantons by 30 May last year. Despite this, Croat officials have continued to consolidate the status of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna," said Ganic in a statement for Muslim Radio Tuzla.

In his words, this confirms Muslim fears that the Croats have clearly given up the idea of the Washington and Vienna Agreements and that their ultimate goal is not the Croat-Muslim Federation, but a completely sovereign Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Muslim-Croat Federation Celebration Called Farce

LD1703142995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 17 Mar 95

[By diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas; "Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 17 (TANJUG)—The celebration held to mark the first anniversary of the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia has made

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both world media and diplomatic circles wonder what made the United States place its political credibility at stake to bring to life an artificial structure, when the chances to achieve this are minimum.

Judging by the ceremony, held in Washington on Thursday, only the United States and, as of lately Germany, appear to be interested in keeping the Federation alive. Bosnian Croats and Muslims, in whose honor the celebration was organized, appear to care least about it. Following nearly a year of bitter fighting for territories with mixed populations, the Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed under U.S. pressure in Washington last march an agreement to form a binational federation that has largely remained a dead letter.

The two sides are now blaming each other for such a state of affairs. The same day when the first anniversary of the phantom Federation was celebrated in Washington, the presidential council of the Bosnian Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna decided to break off all talks with Muslims on building the Federation until the latter revealed the truth about the fate of captured Bosnian Croat General Vlado Santic.

Despite that, the United States went ahead with the celebration, making a precedent by celebrating the 'anniversary' of a 'foreign state.' Apparently, the United States must have had a good reason to do so. This, in fact, has to do with the essence of the U.S. strategy for, if the Muslim-Croat Federation starts functioning there might well be changes in Bosnia's political and geographic structure.

As for the celebration, it was 'spoiled' by Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic's absence who gave priority to his visit to Germany. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, however, attended the ceremony, showing his 'attachment' to the strange 'marriage' between Muslims and Croats. Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, Federation president and vice-president who were present at the celebration, are hardly mentioned by anyone.

That is why yesterday's celebration turned into a farce, despite the U.S. efforts to present it in a very serious light. It could not have happened otherwise, since the Federation itself is also a farce. This fact is now being recognized even by those who, a year ago, were delighted at the U.S. initiative to unite Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

From that point on, the key figures of the Federation have declaratively backed that union, but things took a rather different course in reality. Western diplomatic circles hold different views on why the U.S. idea on the Muslim-Croat Federation has failed. Some of them believe that the reasons lie in the disagreements between Tudjman and Izetbegovic.

Others believe that the Federation cannot begin to function because the Muslims and Croats cannot agree about their shares in the power. Nearly all of them, however, agree that the key Federation figures are unanimous in one thing—they both want to destroy the Srpska republic and the Serbs.

On the strength of that, a large number of political analysts in the West have drawn the conclusion that the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia is neither a serious structure nor stands a chance to become a state one day. To built a binational state to the disadvantage of the third people living in the same area is an effort doomed to fail from the very start.

MBO Suggests Including SCC in Negotiations

AU1703172795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on press conference by the Muslim Bosniak Organization in Sarajevo on 17 Mar—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] supports the intensive diplomatic activity of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The party expressed the hope that the government members have not been traveling for tourist purposes, and that their visits will yield tangible results. The MBO expects that the results of the activity will be presented to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the public in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Speaking about the Federation implementation process, Mujo Kafedzic, deputy chairman of the MBO's Main Committee, pointed out that, in certain political environments, there is no political willingness to move the process from the standstill. The signing of the regulation regarding customs duties by the government of the Herceg-Bosna paramilitary state is a destructive act against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the process of implementing the Federation.

Mujo Kafedzic addressed the Bonn Agreement and said that he believed that the specified deadlines should be observed. The MBO believes that to have power but no responsibility for what is happening in the country is politically irresponsible. The MBO hails the activities of the Serbian Civic Council [SCC] and all other organizations that contribute to the strengthening of Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty and independence. The party believes that it would be good to include the SCC in negotiations regarding our country's fate. This would threaten the position of the criminal Karadzic, who claims that he is the only legitimate negotiator for the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaking on the MBO's behalf, Mujo Kafedzic energetically condemned the expulsions and crimes committed against Bosniaks in Serbia and Montenegro, and expressed support for the Sandzak citizens' petition requesting permission for Sulejman Ugljanin's return to the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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Santic Reportedly Killed, Body Thrown in River

AU1803155495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned from well-informed sources of the Peoples' Defense of Western Bosnia that Croatian General Vlado Santic was killed on the road between Srbljani and Pokoj on 8 March. A military policeman of the Muslim 5th Corps who defected to the Peoples' Defense of Western Bosnia conveyed the news, and added that the body of Vlado Santic was then thrown in River Una.

Army Press Center Statement

AU1703140895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Due to ever more frequent implications in connection with the disappearance of Major General Vlado Santic and attempts to condemn high-ranking officers of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the sluggishness with which the investigation into the case has been conducted, the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina announces that a thorough investigation into this (?case) is under way.

The investigation is being conducted by a joint commission consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Croatian Defense Council, as well as political representatives of the Bosniak and Croatian people. According to the joint commission findings that have been partly published in the media already, there is no political background to this case. Personal problems were involved, that is, personal showdowns. All state and political institutions of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been informed of this. In accordance with this information, relevant units of the 5th Corps of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have adopted measures within their jurisdiction.

Three members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been detained and many meetings have been held lest the entire case acquire the proportions of a broader struggle.

The Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not want to compete in issuing announcements as it has full confidence in the relevant institutions and joint commission, and believes that, in this case also, they will discover the truth through legal procedure and in the most effective manner possible.

This has been the practice of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in previous cases as well, when some of its officers and other members have disappeared on territory under the control of the Croatian Defense Council. In these cases also, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has attempted to resolve the cases with the assistance of relevant Croatian Defense Council institutions, without politicizing the cases.

Regarding the unfortunate case of Maj. Gen. Santic, the most objective media and Croatia Radio and Television said as much as the legal and reliable sources of information did. In an interview carried by OSLOBODJENJE on 16 March 1995, Army Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, spoke about the case in a well-reasoned manner and in considerable detail.

With everything that has been said and announced on behalf of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, anybody pretending to be objective and well-meaning will understand that this army above all wants to solve this case as soon as possible and to do so legally. The Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has resolved all individual cases of criminal conduct within its own ranks, and one should not doubt its ability to do so in this case also.

This was announced by the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Santic Case Commentary

AU1703170495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Commentary by Husein Hujic]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is difficult to imagine a person—a human and not a monster—who would not be upset by the fact that General Vlado Santic has disappeared. Yet another defender of the [Bosnian] Krajina's freedom has disappeared, and the disappearance of every defender —regardless of whether he dies honorably in action or simply disappears in an unfitting manner, like General Santic—is a heavy blow to everyone who desires peace, for himself and for Bosnia. Unfortunately, there are those who, despite such distressing news, attempt to add to the public's distress. How else can we explain the name calling and accusations leveled at the commanding cadre of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army for the unfortunate incident that occurred on the balmy night in the probably still beautiful Sedra Motel on the eternally beautiful Una River, when armed husbands were celebrating International Women's Day?

How else can we explain the protests that the so-called officials of the quasi-states are lodging with the Republic of Croatia, its Radio Television, and Sabor chairman? Here we need to explain that Croatian Television refused to broadcast various people's opinions on the Santic case that would only add fat to the fire, worsen Croat-Bosniak relations in the Federation, slow down and prejudge the investigation conducted by the joint commission that consists of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Croatian Defense Council members, as well as the representatives of other legitimate structures of both peoples. How can we explain the storm stirred up by those who comment

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on the Santic case as if their vocal chords were directly linked to a tape recorded in the Pale studios for multiplying lies? There is no need to mention any names. Everyone knows that fools' names and fools' faces are always found in public places. Well-meaning people will always keep a cool head in such instances, including this one, will be patient and will trust in those whom the representatives of the Bosniak and Croat peoples have instructed to search for the truth in this sensitive and unfortunate event. They will live to see the day when the truth is discovered. Of course, justice will also catch up with the people who carried out this—one can already say—enemy act.

Ganic Sends Condolences

LD1903185795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent a message of condolence to Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in connection with the tragic death of Croat Defense Council Major General Vlado Santic. The message says:

The two of us have so far encountered almost insoluble problems for which we have always found a successful solution. I believe that after this loss we can press ahead with our joint efforts as we planned and successfully agreed. Justice will reach those who are responsible for General Santic's death, says Ganic, who also sent a message of condolence to the family of the deceased General Santic.

Milosevic Trying 'To Destroy Serb National Body'

AU1703214395 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic is Destroying the National Body"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Srpska republic, has warned that "Milosevic's regime is doing everything to destroy the Serbian national body and to force the Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] to accept the Contact Group plans for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia."

"By skillfully manipulating the media, groups, and individuals, Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] are tirelessly working on breaking up the unity within the RS and the RSK, in order to force these two Serbian states to become autonomies within the communist border in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia," Dr. Plavsic told SRNA. According to her, Milosevic's Socialists did not have a consistent program and this has resulted in the total abandonment of the concept of a single Serbian state and mindless capitulation in the face of outside pressure. "Milosevic believes that the lifting of sanctions would give him and the SPS moral satisfaction for recognizing the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, but this will not happen," stressed Plavsic.

She is convinced that, "if Milosevic and his Socialists recognize the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, they will lose their political and moral reputation among the people and will have to hand over power." "The Serbian national movement is strong enough to finish the process [of creating a single state] and it is a lot stronger than either Milosevic or his Socialists imagine," Dr. Plavsic concluded.

Sarajevo Airport Closed, UN Planes Targeted

AU1703170395 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, March 17 (AFP)—Two UN planes came under heavy machine gun fire at Sarajevo Airport Friday airport, prompting the UN to close the airfield, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesmen said here.

An Ilyushin-76 and a Yak aircraft were fired at on landing and again on take-off, Major Pierre Chavancy said. Major Herve Gourmelon said initial reports pointed to the use of heavy machine guns. No indication was given on the origin of fire.

It was not immediately known whether the planes, which arrived from Zagreb, were hit. There were no casualties. After the aircraft's departure, the airport went to "red" status, the term used here to signify it is closed to traffic.

A total of four planes were due to use the airport on Friday, after two landed there safely on Thursday. Two planes, also an Ilyushin and a Yak made it in safely Friday morning. The humanitarian air bridge, operated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, has been down all week following shooting at an International Committee of the Red Cross aircraft on Saturday and at a plane flying in UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi on Sunday.

Prlic Supports Bosnian Serb Links to FRY

LD1803131195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—No one should deny the Serb side its right to form a confederation with Yugoslavia, Jadranko Prlic, the deputy prime minister of the Muslim-Croat Federation and prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, told Croat Radio of Herceg-Bosna today.

Prlic recalled that the Washington Accords envisage confederal links between the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Republic of Croatia, which is a precondition for the development of a Federation between the Bosnian Croats and Muslims.

Prlic stressed that international policymakers support two entities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and "they

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are the Croat-Muslim Federation and the Serb area, which will form some kind of a very loose union."

First Food Convoy in Month Reaches Bihac Pocket

AU1803154995 Paris AFP in English 2013 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, March 18 (AFP)—A UN convoy with 105 tons [metric] of food has reached the besieged northwest Bosnian pocket of Bihac, the first in nearly a month, a UN spokesman said here Saturday.

The nine-truck convoy from Zagreb reached the government-held enclave Friday evening, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski said here. It was the first convoy allowed through Serb lines since February 27. Some 200,000 civilians in the enclave are dependent on aid, but less than 20 percent of the food needed has been allowed through in recent months and the situation there is described as dire.

A spokeswoman in Zagreb indicated that the UNHCR was planning on resuming aid to breakaway Croatian Serbs in their self-declared republic of Krajina once they lifted their ban on the convoys. The UNHCR had suspended aid to the Krajina Serbs in protest at their obstruction. The Krajina Serbs have ordered all convoys to use the road through Velika Kladusa, the northern town controlled by Moslem dissident leader Fikret Abdic who is fighting Bosnian government forces. Meanwhile, Bosnian Serbs have given clearance to UNHCR food convoys headed into Sarajevo, after a total ban lasting more than a week, Janowski said. Convoys were due to start rolling again Saturday.

The humanitarian air bridge into the besieged Bosnian capital remained down however in the wake of repeated firing incidents at the airport where two UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) planes were again targeted on Friday. It was believed incendiary rounds were used in the attack. UNPROFOR was not planning on flying any planes into the city on Saturday.

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Tudjman 'Fully Satisfied' With U.S. Talks

LD1803113095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Croatian state delegation led by the president of the republic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, flew into Zagreb Airport today from New York. President Tudjman and members of his delegation were met and greeted by Dr. Nedeljko Mihanovic, president of the Assembly; Prime Minister Nikica Valentic; Corps General Janko Bobetko; Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the president's office; and other high-ranking officials. President Tudjman made the following statement to the many journalists present at the airport:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Well, (?since we had to go across the ocean) there must have been good reasons for it, understandably. This time there were three: The Croatian delegation took part in the ceremony to mark the first anniversary of the Washington Agreement on setting up the Federation and confederation. In addition to the host, the United States, also present were the friends, as they were called, of the Federation. However, during the ceremony the question was raised why Mr. Izetbegovic was not present.

The second reason for our visit to Washington was talks on bilateral relations with representatives of the United States. I, indeed, held talks with the entire top leadership, including Secretary of State Christopher, Vice President Gore, National Security Adviser Lake, and President Clinton. And I can note with satisfaction that, in relation to this, we had an opportunity not just to restore full confidence between Croatia and the United States, which in some way was brought into question by our decision to cancel the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate. We have not only consolidated our relations, but we also reached full agreement on all issues and agreed on cooperation in that area.

And, finally, in New York, I held talks with the U.S. representative, Madeleine Albright, and with the UN secretary general and his aides about the cancelation of the UNPROFOR mandate, and about a new agreement on deploying special UN forces in Croatia, at the borders; you will probably have heard about it by now. These talks were also very fruitful. I am fully satisfied with them. In other words, the departure, the termination of the UNPROFOR mandate and the UN Protected Area zones, and the deployment of UN forces at the borders will signify a new step and speed up the efforts to resolve the issue of the occupied areas and their return to Croatia's legal and constitutional system. [end recording]

Martic: Will Fight Any Blockade of Borders

LD1803153495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—"Even if the Security Council adopts a resolution on the blockade of our borders with the Srpska republic [RS] and Yugoslavia, we will prevent its implementation at any cost," Milan Martic, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in an interview for today's SERB VOICE [GLAS SRPSKI of Banja Luka].

Having stressed that the RSK will not allow "any blockade of our borders," Martic said that he did not believe that there will be any changes to the current UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate and that changes were just "Tudjman's wishful thinking." He also believes that there is no need to reiterate that the peacekeeping forces are here under the Vance plan, which envisages direct negotiations between the two sides as the way out of the crisis.

"This plan does not include or preclude any political solution," Martic specified, "and it also stresses that the peacekeeping forces will stay until a political solution is found. This framework will not be changed even at the expense of the peacekeeping forces staying in the region [sentence as received]."

According to him, it is possible to reach an agreement on the reduction in the number of blue helmets and on some "cosmetic" changes, which will not alter the plan's essence because "the Vance plan has proven itself over the past three years, so changes to or the annulment of the plan will be tantamount to an act of political blindness, which will not bring anything good."

Seselj: New UN Mandate Not Applicable to RSK

AU1803164995 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Serbian Radical Party President Vojislav Seselj stated today that diplomatic games further complicate the situation with regard to the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. Speaking at a press conference, he said that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman did not make an independent decision when he first canceled and then approved a meeting of UN forces. [sentence as published] Seselj added that troops of the United Nations would be defined as UN forces in Croatia and pointed out that the RSK is not part of Croatia and that this is yet another political game.

Martic Appeals to 'Orthodox Brothers' for Help

AU2003095595 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 16 Mar 95 p 2

[Interview with Milan Martic, leader of breakaway Serbs in Krajina, by Volodymyr Korkodym and Ihor Krol, in Krajina; date not given: "At Some Other Time, We Will Not Be Talking About War!..."]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [MOLOD UKRAYINY] Mr. President, whilst visiting your republic, we have become convinced that its long-suffering people are full of hope for better times. However, it is clear that this is not easy, mainly because the long-term confrontation with Croatia

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does not let up, people are dying, and many villages and towns are being destroyed. Where do you see a way out of this situation, which is not just a crisis, but also dangerous?

[Martic] I have no doubt that it is well known in Ukraine how much the Serbian people in these ethnic and historical territories suffered during the two world wars for no other reason than that they professed Orthodoxy. It might suffice to recall the Jasenovac concentration camp, where Croatian fascists—the ustasha—shot and brutally massacred more than 700,000 Serbs.

This deliberate anti-Serb strategy is the basis for the activity of the present Croatian authorities as well, with the difference that today it is not Adolf Hitler's henchman dictator Ante Pavelic, but General Franjo Tudjman with his nationalist ideas who plans and commands all of this. We had no other choice but to organize and fight for our own existence against such a policy, in order to survive and not to be annihilated and in order to preserve ourselves as a nation and not to disappear as a result of genocide and slaughter. Fortunately, we have succeeded in this and today our independent state exists.

To our great sorrow, we have suffered great human losses during our defensive and liberation struggle and many people have been wounded and crippled. Since our people's best sons have perished, do we have the moral right to stop in the middle of the road? We must continue our active work to create a strong state, from which nobody will ever evict us and in which we will finally be able to live normal lives. I personally would like all the well-meaning people of the world, and especially our Orthodox Ukrainian brothers, to realize that the Krajina Serbs are not some rebels or invaders and that we have lived in our own land for more than 1,000 years. This is convincingly attested to by our ancient monasteries. We also hope to get assistance in our struggle, which we will continue until we finally win our right to self-determination, which is only being denied to the Serbian people. I believe that, if we get assistance from the Ukrainians, Russians, and other nations, it will certainly be easier for us to achieve our goal faster, a goal that is undoubtedly perfectly justified.

In this respect, the Croats have strong support from Germany and the Muslims from the United States, whereas we Serbs have been left to our own devices, and so we fight as best we can and with whatever means that we have at our disposal. In former Yugoslavia, at the start of its disintegration, it was also said that such things were exclusively internal problems, but the external intervention soon started. In particular, those states that are interested in influence in the Balkan region stressed and insisted on the right of Croatia and Slovenia to secede and it did not take them long formally to recognize those states. When it comes to Orthodox states, the methods are different and unanimous.

I appeal to our brothers in Ukraine, Russia, and other Orthodox countries to realize that we are a small but proud nation that will not give in. I believe that this is a decisive time, when our brothers in faith must raise their voices in our defense.

[MOLOD UKRAYINY] By its insistence on recalling the UN troops on 31 March, Croatia has clearly revealed its aggressive intentions to the world.

[Martic] It did not decide this on its own, but on direct instructions from its main defender—Germany. Besides, the Croatian state very much wants to portray Serbian Krajina in the worst possible light, to impose a negative image of it upon the entire Orthodox world, to launch a strong propaganda campaign in the Security Council against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and to see to it that the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders are recognized and all assistance to us, including humanitarian, be canceled.

We, on the other hand, have consistently favored a peaceful solution of the problems with Croatia, since we are convinced that the truth and all the facts and arguments are on our side. We are ready to hold negotiations with everybody but only on an equal basis, as a sovereign country in no way interfering with Croatia's internal affairs.

If the UN troops leave, which we oppose, then a serious threat to peace will immediately arise. We do not want any kind of war, but we are ready for such an undoubtedly worse variant. Why else are we against cancelling the UN mandate? Well, because when the peacekeeping forces arrived on the former Yugoslav territory, three factors were taken into account: Croatia, the Serbian Krajina, and Yugoslavia. All of that was based upon the Vance Plan, which stipulated that the UNPROFOR forces would not contemplate any political decisions and would remain in Serbian Krajina as protection and security forces until the appropriate political decisions were taken in a peaceful manner. At the same time, the Croats are insisting on something else: A mandate to use force against us, which would be exclusively to serve their interests. This is precisely what they are unable to do on their own and want this to be done by forces that would include French, British, and, God forbid, Russians troops. Who would gain from this, especially at the time of introducing such democracy? May God spare us from such a thing, where nothing, not even the "d," remains from democracy!

Once again, I greet our brothers in Ukraine and hope that there will be as many of them as possible at all levels. [sentence as published] I will be happy to come to your state on an official visit and I also hope to be able to talk to you about other things, and not just war.

[MOLOV UKRAYINY] P.S. As this material was being prepared for publication, it became known that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was no longer insisting on recalling the UN troops and did not object to them remaining in Serb Krajina. Yet another step toward peace in the Balkan region?

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UNPROFOR Negotiations Aftermath Speculation

AU1803172495 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 95 p 2

[Commentary by Visnja Staresina: "After UNPROFOR: Who Will Be Deployed Along Croatian Borders?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday: Deputy Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke holds talks in Zagreb. Tomorrow: President Tudjman's Special Envoy Miomir Zuzul again attends talks at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris.

We can expect to see this activity intensify in the next two weeks, as the world is in dire need of finding an answer to this question: What happens after the expiration of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on 31 March. Already, when Croatia made the decision to terminate the mandate of peace forces, it left the possibility of an agreement with the international community and its future involvement in the country open, providing it leads toward the reintegration of occupied areas rather than the preservation of the status quo—and last week's statements by President Tudjman and Minister Granic offer an even more explicit confirmation of that willingness: They accepted the deployment of additional international forces along Croatia's border with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as international supervision of the implementation of agreements that have been signed so far. Although Contact Group countires still say that Croatia's decision to terminate the mandate of UN forces was wrong and should be revised at the level of diplomatic agreements, those countries also display a readiness to find a compromise solution. However, while Croatia is striving for international involvement, the essence of which will be only slightly reminiscent of the present (the former) UNPROFOR mandate and concentrate mostly on controlling borders, the international community is most inclined to accept a solution that differs from the present mandate in name only and the insignia on soldiers' uniforms. In other words, the international community would love to leave some of its present troops deployed along separation lines to control the cease-fire agreement and avoid controlling borders.

In a nutshell, those are the basic starting points to be discussed in the next couple of weeks to lead to a compromise, with each side agreeing to make a concession or two. In the diplomatic circles of Geneva, rumors are rampant that a compromise might be reached if the international community took it upon itself to control the border and the line of separation as well as key roads in occupied areas, and made significant cuts in the number of soldiers involved.

However, it is of paramount importance to closely examine the way in which the international community intends to control borders and lines of separation. Croatia wants efficient border control, which would require troops mandated to do that and observers deployed along the lines of separation. Countries that are to send their soldiers to Croatia would love to have it the other way around. This, too, will probably be subject to compromise; Croatia might possible concede to the extent that such a compromise is likely to lead to a political solution without another war, and the international community's concession is most likely to mirror the extent of its conviction that a complete withdrawal of international forces from Croatia would lead to open war between Serbia and Croatia, which would endanger the rest of Europe also. It is not unlikely that Milosevic will join the game before the deadline expires, perhaps with a promise of mutual recognition in return for concessions that would weaken Croatia's position in talks about a new arrangement with the international community. Especially if those promises can later be forgotten or interpreted in a way that suits Milosevic.

We cannot completely disregard the source of soldiers and observers in the framework of those international forces, nor their commanding officers. The possibility of NATO taking over the operation is by now out of the question and the most likely solution is a kind of cooperation between members of the Contact Group who are also members of the Security Council and the United Nations, as a formal cover. However, for the time being, the United States is not willing to send its contingent of soldiers for the operation and diplomatic sources reveal that the French, as well as the British, are very much interested in the operation; it would come as a big surprise if the Russians did not express a desire to participate in the operation as well. It would be particularly surprising if the Russians did not demand to be stationed in the present Sector East. We can expect to see Croatia try to avoid such a deployment of forces, but it remains to be seen what arrangements Western Europe makes with Russia.

The only certainty at this moment is that all present negotiations are primarily aimed at estimating the extent to which the other side is willing to budge; that countries (both Croatia and each member of the Contact Group) are making their negotiation plans in keeping with those estimates, and that (the crucial) details of the agreement, if there ever is one, will be arranged at the last minute. However, unlike Croatia, other countries's governments do not usually reveal the details of their negotiation plans before they are presented at the negotiating table, let alone announce their next move. And this is where they have a slight advantage, because they at least maintain the appropriate level of diplomatic etiquette according to which strictly controlled statements are one of the main postulates.

Radicals Oppose Demilitarization of RSK

AU1803165995 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Rade Leskovac, president of the Serb Radical Party of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], said today in Vukovar that the decision of the international community to redefine the mandate of

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peace forces without Krajina's approval would annul the Vance plan. That would unilaterally rescind an agreement that has already been signed, said Leskovac at a press conference. The new UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate should be defined by a resolution that will soon be adopted by the UN Security Council. According to Krajina Radicals, the content of that resolution may determine not only the future of war and peace but the final political solution for the Serb nation, both in the RSK and in the Republic of Croatia. The Krajina Radicals reiterated their view that they vehemently oppose the demilitarization of Krajina.

TV Criticizes Izetbegovic Moves on Federation

LD1903202195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 95

[Station commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] Both Washington and Bonn have obviously launched a strong diplomatic offensive to strengthen the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. While the Croatian president was paying a visit to the United States on the occasion of the Washington Agreement anniversary, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic was in Bonn. His address to the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee has definitely cast doubt over Muslim support for the building of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his address Izetbegovic did not mention the Federation even once, let alone the Croats. At the insistence of Bundestag MPs, only after being asked the same question for the third time did he reply that it is only the Croats who thwarted the implementation of the Federation, saying that this was done in order to prolong the life of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Let us recall, Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Federation, said in the Petersburg accord that Herceg-Bosna would be abolished once all federal institutions have begun functioning. At the same time, the accord clearly sets out that institutions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are also to be abolished. However, Alija Izetbegovic is trying to suspend the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna before the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is set up, and at the same time preserve his republican institutions and thus marginalize the Croats as the constituent nation in the federation. Indeed he always takes along with him representatives of the Serb and Croat nations to international meetings, but they have no political significance or legal basis.

Izetbegovic cites the blockade of Bosnia-bound transports in Herceg-Bosna as an example of the Croat reluctance to cooperate. How much Alija Izetbegovic cares for the Federation is best illustrated by the situation in Vares, where Croat refugees have not started returning because the Muslim authorities cannot allow a Croat to become the town mayor, a position won in legitimate elections. The Croats likewise pointed to the need to set up the Federal Army, to which the Muslims have replied positively, on condition that the Bosnia-Herzegovina army should continue to exist. In this way only the Croat Defense Council would disappear.

This problem, whose resolution would represent the most evident sign of joint political objectives, has not been resolved in the Zubak-Ganic agreement either. Izetbegovic voiced his agreement in principle with the Bonn Agreement only at the clear insistence of Irfan Ljubijankic, his minister of foreign affairs. A part of the Muslim leadership defined its objective as being an integral, democratic, and multicultural Bosnia. But, judging by everything, in their mind only one nation exists there. The Croats cannot accept such hegemony.

The conflict with the Serbs in Bosnia can only be halted through Muslims and Croats having respect for each other. This is a basis for every federation, especially a war-ridden federation. Croatia has been and will continue to be in favor of the federation which is founded on equal bases and in accordance with agreements which have been drawn up and confirmed several times by the international community.

RSK Official Rejects Contact Group Plans

LD1703203195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 17 Mar (SRNA)—Slobodan Jarcevic, the political adviser of the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], has said that Contact Group plans for the resolution of the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia are totally unacceptable to the Serb nation.

Taking part in an open meeting on the international community's proposals for the resolution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia in Novi Sad last night, Jarcevic said he doubted that in the present circumstances anybody in the Serb states could unconditionally accept "the Contact Group's supposed peace projects, which do not contain a single premise for an appropriate resolution of the crisis."

Jarcevic stressed that "Contact Group plans for former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so called Z-4 plan must be understood only as a point of departure for future talks and diplomatic efforts to reach a lasting and just peace in the region." Last night's open meeting was organized by the Novi Sad committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands.

RSK Agrees To Open Belgrade-Zagreb Railway

LD1803213595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 18 Mar 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Okucani, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina [RSK] and Croatian economic commissions have agreed to open to traffic a section of

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the Belgrade-Zagreb railway through western Slavonija in mid-April, U.N. officials said Saturday.

The U.N. Protection Force command for sector west, one of the four sectors under U.N. protection in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, western Slavonija included, said the agreement was reached at a meeting of the two commissions on the implementation of the economic agreement signed between the two sides in Zagreb on Dec. 2. The meeting was held behind closed doors at the Jordanian peacekeepers' base in sector west, on Friday.

The Belgrade-Zagreb railway was closed for traffic after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslav federation in 1991. Before the railway is opened, it is necessary to carry out all repairs as well as to construct a railway bridge across the Paklenica River, the task that Croatia agreed to carry out by March 27.

Earlier, the Belgrade-Zagreb highway was opened, in line with the Zagreb agreement. The highway and the railway were one of the main links between western Europe, on one side, and the south and the Middle East, on the other.

The economic agreement constitutes the second of the three phases planned within the normalization of relations between Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina, proclaimed by Serbs living in these parts in 1991, after Croatia's war of secession. The first phase included an agreement on a ceasefire, while the third should include a political agreement between the two sides.

Government Blamed for High Interest Rates

95BA0186B Zagreb BANKA in Serbo-Croatian Feb 95 pp 10-11

[Unattributed article: "The Bank and the State: Passing the Buck"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pero Jurkovic, governor of the NBH [National Bank of Croatia], said in a recent interview with BANKA: "The pressure on the central bank will continue, because some banks are suffering chronic illiquidity, because the banking system has not been consolidated.... The structure of the portfolio of most banks is immobile—old savings, claims against the state that cannot be redeemed when necessary, a weak customer distribution that the banks cannot repair, and so on.... We are making an effort to repair the portfolio of the banks because the cost side is also putting pressure on the interest rate margin: With 20 or 30 percent of its assets, the bank cannot meet its obligations on the borrowing side." The consequence of this situation in the banks is the high rate of interest on loans, and although there are announcements that it will be better, there have been no changes:

"Money is too expensive in our country; there is no dispute about that, but do not blame the banks on that account. Or, do not blame only the banks. After all, in addition to the supply of money they possess, and also with the obligations imposed on them by the NBH and the government, the banks simply cannot offer cheap capital," is the assessment of Marijan Mandic, managing director of Cibalna Banka in Vinkovci, who is fully supported by every Croatian banker. Who, for that matter, would dispute that when there is no inflation an annual interest rate is too high if it ranges between 14 and 16 percent (depending on the institution from which the money is taken, but also on the way its price is calculated)? Especially if compared to world developments, where (for example, on the London market) it ranges between 5.1 percent per annum on 30-day loans to 7.1 percent on one-year loans.

"Banks make their own decisions about the level of interest rates for a very small amount of their lendings, but the decision on this is mainly in the hands of the government and the NBH, that is, the (restrictive) monetary policy. Actually, analyses show that the banks on the average possess independently only about 25 percent of their assets, while all the rest is immobilized in some way—whether it is 'frozen' in old savings or uncollectible claims or committed by the instruments of monetary policy to the legal reserve or some other form of covering deposits or investments," says Mladen Fain, director of the Sector for Economic Analysis and Development of Dalmatinska Banka in Zadar and chairman of the Committee for Economic Analysis and Accounting of the Council of the Association of Banks of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce. That committee has, in fact, made an analysis of "banking and interest rate difficulties," which it is taking to the government and the NBH, obviously expecting that the next move is up to them, not to the bankers.

"By contrast with the present 25 percent, at one time the banks made independent decisions in monetary transactions concerning 40 percent of their assets. Moreover, in the breakdown of bank lendings legal reserves now represent more than 10 percent, while only four years ago the requirement was half as much. Not to mention that the bank earns nothing on the public debt with respect to interest rate margin except earnings for the bank's independent share, and at the same time there is a considerable expense in transactions related to old savings, which, in other words, means that the banks are servicing the state's public debt gratis, that is, that the state and the NBH are also restricting the banks in their independent interest rate policy in other ways."

The bankers are certainly well supplied with arguments, and in any serious debate of this topic they will not omit to mention that because deposits have been withdrawn from the banks by some sociopolitical communities, about 50 percent of the funds in financial channels (legal reserves, "voluntary" treasury notes, and so forth) are now administered by the NBH and Ministry of Finance instead of the banks, and to point up the problem of money loaned to firms in bankruptcy (for the banks these are immobilized funds of which they can collect about 10

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percent at best), or again the problem of limiting the level of interest rates on so-called overnight credits, whereby the NBH actually makes it possible for banks operating poorly to obtain money inexpensively and thus continue to evade the consequences of their bad business assessments. Another topic that is certainly unavoidable in this connection is the "inherited banking mortgages," which are actually the greatest burden on the assets of many banks, especially the "old" and large ones.

All the banks are not burdened with these dubious assets. Why, then, are their loans not less expensive?

"But why would they be?" Jadranka Gotovac of Partner Banka gave us a simple answer. And then she added: "For that matter, the price of money is always determined by the large banks, and it is their problem if they are barely surviving at that, while the new banks are realizing high income and are becoming broader and stronger every day. The smaller banks actually are lucky that they are developing at a time when the large banks have difficulties like that. After all, under stable and equal conditions, all the objective advantages of the large banks would quickly become evident. It is certainly up to us in the smaller banks to take the most effective advantage of this interlude and prepare ourselves for the more equal struggle at a time when the larger banks will be free of at least most of their present problems."

In conclusion, one gets the impression that the Croatian banks view the problem of high interest rates and the high price of money—that is, the causes of these situations—as something they are unable to influence. Especially because with so little money in circulation they have no trouble lending money at a high price.

Negotiations With Paris, London Clubs Continue

95BA0186A Zagreb BANKA in Serbo-Croatian Feb 95 pp 6-7

[Unattributed article: "Croatia and the Paris Club: The Courting Continues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A cat's first litter must be drowned—this obviously must have been the principle followed by the numerous Croatian negotiators, headed by Borislav Skegro, M.A., deputy prime minister, and negotiators of the Paris Club who were their hosts. An agreement on finances, on repayment of debt, is never a remedy, especially not in the Croatian case: The present Croatian state has neither incurred debts that it must now repay, nor is it known who spent the credits that Yugoslav firms and Yugoslav banks took from the states and the state agencies of the Paris Club. Nor do we know entirely for what all the funds of the foreign loans went; it is believed with good reason that part of them were used by the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to purchase the weapons with which it destroyed Croatia.

The world, however, is based on certain laws, at least when it comes to the obligations that Croatia had to accept (obligations to Croatia were not stated so clearly). That is why the Croatian Government and National Bank of Croatia [NBH] had to initiate negotiations with the Paris Club. "Technicians" had no major problems in verifying the accounts: "Croatia owes members of the Paris Club (12 states in Europe, plus the United States, Japan, and Kuwait) $820 million on the basis of the 'old debt' that Croatian firms and Croatian banks borrowed before 2 December 1982" (that amount also includes all the interest on the principal in the amount of $530 million). Croatia is not evading that: How to repay it, at what time, and in what amount?

How to deal with that part of the debt that even before, in the time of the former Yugoslavia, was rescheduled—this is where the negotiations have hung up the most. Croatia wanted, and that is what Skegro proposed to Bertrand de Mazieres, vice president of the Paris Club, to have the same clause applied to it that Poland enjoyed whereby half of the debt was written off (and the other half rescheduled over 16 years with a grace period for the first six years). If Poland could be forgiven more than $15 billion, why can Croatia not be forgiven less than $500 million? The Croatian negotiators assured their hosts that they should appreciate Croatia's specific situation, that the country has experienced war and aggression, that a portion of its territory is still occupied, that under difficult conditions this government has bravely undertaken reconstruction of its economy, that it has committed itself to the market; Croatia needs fresh money for that. It is ready to promptly repay the second part of the debt, which Croatian firms and banks took after 2 December 1982 (estimated at about $300 million), while for the third part, debts incurred by Yugoslav institutions (also estimated at about $300 million), the Croatian Government guarantees its share—28.49 percent, according to the criterion of the IMF—but only when there is a thorough settlement as to the rights to the property of the former Yugoslavia, not merely with respect to its obligations.

It is obviously clear to representatives of the Paris Club that they perhaps will never be able to collect the debts of the former Yugoslavia from Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it will be difficult to collect them from Serbia, and that the two most highly developed states, Slovenia and Croatia, are a good occasion to get out some of their money. But the hosts have left their response for the next occasion, probably during February, when they are supposed to receive a more definite mandate as to what they can accept. Is it better to torture and milk Croatia or help it to get on its feet and have something to invest in reconstruction of its own economy? Such a Croatia would be a better partner for all the world's financial institutions.

After Paris, Skegro and his negotiating team (Prka, Matesa, Jurkovic, and Rogic) are supposed to go on a similar mission to London, to the financial "market" there: In the London Club, which does not consist of states like the Paris Club, but of commercial banks, Croatia owes approximately the same amount: $1.4

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billion. Any solution attained in Paris would also be valid in London. The representatives of the Paris Club flattered the Croatian delegation concerning the stabilization policy of the Croatian Government and its results. It obviously was pleasant for Skegro to listen to praise of the economic policy of a government in which the economy is his concern; it will be still more pleasant for him to hear when (and if) he receives from his hosts a concession in the form of a write-off of some of the "old debt" (which they did not show a willingness to do in the first round) and rescheduling the second part over 16 years, not 10, which the creditors in Paris wanted, most of them British, German, Dutch, French, U.S., and Austrian.

Love would seem at first glance to be excluded from finance. But the courting is continuing in the negotiations, and there are prospects that in the second round views will at least be closer, if they cannot be reconciled.

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Tachi Faction Proposal To Relieve Ethnic Tension

AU1703145695 Skopje MIC in English 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In the press conference in Tetovo yesterday, the MPs from the seceded PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] wing, under the leadership of Menduh Tachi and Arben Dzaferi presented the "Motion" or initiative for elimination of the tension in the Republic, which was also submitted to the speaker of parliament Stojan Andov.

This document contains requests for the use of the Albanian language in the work of the Republic parliament, the determination of responsibility over the brutal interruption in classes at the Tetovo University and the killing of Abduselam Emini, the release of the political prisoners, as well as starting a constructive dialogue on the creation of normal conditions for uninterrupted work of this high educational institution. They are also requesting that it be included in the institutions of the system.

Albanian Deputies Respond to 'Discrimination'

AU1703145495 Skopje MIC in English 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The presidency of NDP [People's Democratic Party] and the MPs from this party in the republic parliament have assessed that they have no moral right to continue with the work in parliament as long as the authorities proceed with national discrimination against the Albanians, with the rigged political processes and as long as they keep activist of the Tetovo University in prison, without any legal grounds.

In the public announcement it is also said that nevertheless, the MPs from this party will continue to take part in the work of the parliamentary commissions from time to time, on occasions when questions which are of national interest for them are reviewed. As it is announced, with that, they would contribute to the quality of the discussion and test the readiness of the authorities to consider the rightful demands of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

DPS Leader on 'Worsening' Ethnic Tensions

LD1703192395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Dragisa Miletic, leader of the Democratic Party of Serbs [DPS] in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], speaking at a news conference in Skopje today, demanded that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] forces in the FYROM include peacekeepers from the Russian Federation because of a specific threat of worsening ethnic tensions.

Miletic said that the Skopje authorities did not have enough resolve to resist the dangerous political pressure by ethnic Albanians. He then went on to say "FYROM must become a part of Europe and not a suburb of Tirana." The DPS chairman said that FYROM is facing a difficult situation caused both by outside forces and by ethnic Albanians.

The barbaric act of desecration of graves in the orthodox cemetery in Kumanovo was committed by—according to last night's statement of the FYROM Ministry of Internal Affairs—"three under-aged youths," which the DPS does not regard as objective, the news conference heard. DPS deputy chairman Stojan Trajkovic, who lives in Kumanovo, told journalists today that party activists established that 150 graves were desecrated (the police officially said that 130 were damaged), which brings into question "the finding" that only three youths committed the barbaric "act under the influence of alcohol." [passage omitted]

The DPS leaders told journalists that the FYROM state security bodies are still persecuting their activists. Following clashes between the police and Albanian demonstrators in Tetovo last month, in the village of Josifovo, near Valandova, the police detained three Serbs for so-called fact-finding talks. [passage omitted]

The DPS main board regards this form of pressure on Serbs by the Macedonian authorities as evidence that there is a plan "to artificially create a threat to the Macedonian state similar to the one coming from ethnic Albanians."

Journalists' Club for Interethnic Dialogue

95P20608A

[FBIS Media Note] The Skopje Albanian-language daily FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT reported on 23 January 1995 that a journalists' club for interethnic dialogue has been established in Tetovo in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. The paper said that the club was the idea of a group of journalists of different ethnic backgrounds and that its purpose was to initiate new forms of dialogue to reduce barriers in interethnic relations. FLAKA E VELLAZERIMTT journalist Enver Shala was elected president of the club; Perian Sulejman of the Turkish-language Skopje paper BIRLIK and Branko Gerovski of the Macedonian-language Skopje paper VECER were elected vice presidents. According to Shala, the "massive" attendance at the founding meeting of the club "is proof of journalists' interest in becoming members" and in "making their contribution" to its success.

An article in the 4 February issue of FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT claimed that the lack of interethnic dialogue on all levels in the FYROM is "a direct result" of the media's unwillingness "to impose such a dialogue" and welcomed the establishment of the journalists' club as a step in the right direction. The article cited Risto Popovski, director of the independent news agency MAKFAX, as saying that the formation of such a club demonstrated that journalists were divided along ethnic

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lines, that they were governed by the requirements of the publications for which they wrote, and that they must respond to the "supposed demands of the ethnic groups to which they belong." He agreed there was a need for an interethnic journalists' group but questioned whether it would help solve interethnic problems. In Popovski's opinion, some journalists in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, "where the journalist is directly in the service of the current policy," will be brought before the War Crimes Court in The Hague. He noted that, especially in Serbia and Croatia, journalists who did not want to serve a certain policy had voluntarily left their positions or been forced to leave, and "the best journalistic pens were silenced."

According to the same FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT article, Aleksandar Damovski, deputy editor of the government press agency MAKPRES, "one of the strongest supporters of dialogue as a means for resolving interethnic problems," criticized the media for their "lack of seriousness" in treating ethnic issues. He said that "when a minor incident and the way it is reported have an extraordinary effect on interethnic relations, this lack of seriousness is not welcome." The author of the article concluded that the majority of FYROM journalists, "as is evident from their work", have chosen "the easy road" and become "lackeys for their own people," abusing others and imposing "pressure as a means of dialogue."

Foreign Islamic Organizations in Country

95BA0160A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 31 Jan 95 p 2

[Article by S. Colakovski: "Recruiting Volunteers for Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Recently, 17 foreign citizens of several African and Asian countries, allegedly members of humanitarian organizations with headquarters in Saudi Arabia, were expelled from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. The activities of such "humanitarians" involved recruiting volunteers, organizing religious instruction, and engaging in illegal businesses.*

Seventeen foreign citizens from nine Asian and African countries were recently expelled from the Republic of Macedonia through the Deve Bair border crossing point. This applies, specifically, to citizens of Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Gabon, who worked in our country as members of two humanitarian organizations—El Haramein and Islamic Vakuf—centered in Jedda, the capital of Saudi Arabia.

It was precisely such two-year services performed by these foreign humanitarians and their work, that had little in common with humanitarian activities in our country, that was one of the reasons for expelling these people from the Republic of Macedonia. As we were unofficially informed, in addition to an unknown amount of humanitarian aid, a police search in areas where those people were staying revealed the existence of extensive religious publications, more than 100 Korans and religious textbooks, blanks and forged travel documents, seals, and receipts from domestic and foreign companies.

These two so-called humanitarian organizations showed up in Macedonia in 1992. Their alleged objective was to help refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina in Macedonia, although in our country no major problems in the implementation of its own plans existed. On a larger scale, El Haramein and Islamic Vakuf worked with refugees in the camps located in Bunec, Cicino Selo, Dare Bombol, and Katlanovo, and Muslim refugees placed in private homes in Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo, and Gostivar. For a while, these associations indeed engaged in humanitarian activities. Somewhat later, however, the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] detected the behind-the-screen activities of El Haramein and Islamic Vakuf. At a certain point, these two so-called humanitarian organizations began to organize religious instruction among the refugees, based on radical fundamentalism. In some cases, the best trained students were assigned to known Islamic educational centers. We learned that the recruiting of men 16 years old and older was organized in the strictest secrecy. Subsequently, they were sent to the Bosnian fighting areas. According to some sources, prior to the expulsion and banning the missions of El Haramein and Islamic Vakuf in Macedonia, such "humanitarians" had been able to recruit and send nearly 1,000 refugees who returned to Bosnia to defend Islam.

Although the idea is somewhat speculative, generally speaking, it does not seem impossible that funds for the purchasing of weapons (most frequently from the Middle and Near East, moving along a variety of channels) were collected through voluntary contributions by Muslim citizens in Macedonia as well as through various deals by branch companies of these "humanitarian" organizations. In this context, funds from a variety of black market deals and from illegal activities, including drugs and prostitution, were collected.

Let us add to this the problem of the absence of registration of some nongovernmental humanitarian organizations currently operating in the Republic of Macedonia and whose activities, actually, are illegal and involve the black market. However, not in all cases have the absence of domestic laws and improper legislative regulations to control such problems been an obstacle to the registration of such nongovernmental humanitarian organizations. (In the case of Krik, the Italian humanitarian organization, headquartered in Reggio Calabria, for instance, registration was postponed because of incomplete documentation. The MVR demands proof that that association was legally registered in the Republic of Italy. However, such proof has not been provided for the simple reason that such nongovernmental humanitarian organizations, based on Italian civil law, do not have to be registered with any court.)

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In the case of the Igase World Islamic Organization for Humanitarian Aid, headquartered in Jedda, about which it is speculated that it provides the largest amount of aid to people of Islamic faith, Bosnian, and Albanians, promoting the spreading of Islam in those areas, it operates within an entirely different framework. The demand for registration of Igase was rejected by the MVR for the reason that that association does not meet the stipulations of Article 23 of the Law on Public Organizations and Citizens' Associations. According to that legal stipulation, "the work of an organization or association will be prohibited if its work undermines the Constitution and the constitutional order in the Republic of Macedonia, threatens the independence of the country, and violates basic human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, if it threatens peace and equality, if it promotes religious and national intolerance, and if it harms public morality."

Although positive views have been expressed by the various ministries and the Red Cross concerning Igase, it is being pointed out, nothing obligates the MVR to make any specific final decision. The MVR insists that that humanitarian organization has been making a one-sided use of the conditions governing work in our country! Does this mean that the police already has some specific knowledge concerning the activities of Igase violating legal regulations?

In terms of banning the El Haramein and Islamic Vakuf associations and expelling their activists, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia does not feel any particular need to comment on this action officially. Unofficially, we are told that it is part of the regular activities of the MVR, aimed at exposing foreigners whose stay in our country is not legitimate or who engage in impermissible activities, and that in specific cases the police has the right to expel such individuals from our country. Let us mention, within this framework, the case which occurred by the end of last year, when a larger group of Albanians, citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, were expelled from Macedonia, about whom it was said that they are members of the so-called Kosovo Assembly. The MVR neither confirmed nor disclaimed this act. According to police statistics, over the past six months of last year, the MVR has refused residential permits and expelled 2,278 foreigners from our country, some 700 of them by force. Again last year, throughout the year, a residential permit was refused in Skopje alone to 936 foreign citizens and close to 300 of them were expelled by force. The highest number of foreigners who reside illegally in our country come mainly from Albania and Yugoslavia, followed by Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine.... Added to them now are citizens of several Asian and African countries.

In this last case the impression is that the tolerance displayed over a period of several years and ignoring by the state the variety of foreign "envoys" with undefined intentions, alleged humanitarians, and similar individuals engaged in murky deals, all claiming to be promoting "peace at home" and our hospitality image, is now boomeranging. The activities of the MVR are nothing but "correcting" the consequences of this situation!

Provisions of Draft Law on Public Assembly

95BA0160B Skopje VECER in Macedonian
1 Feb 95 p 7

[Article by S. Kr.: "Greater Responsibility for the Organizers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The new text does not restrict the freedoms and rights of public assembly but does require observing the rights of citizens who do not participate in such assemblies.*

One of the several draft laws recently promulgated by the government is the draft law on public assembly. So far, this area was regulated by the law on public assemblies and public celebrations, which was passed as early as 1972, but which was inadequate in terms of the new situation in our country.

The text, as the drafters explained, does not limit the freedoms and rights to public assembly but explains the meaning of the implementation of this right, in order to ensure without obstruction and to protect the rights of citizens who do not participate in such assemblies and to ensure the state's possibility to perform its functions. According to the draft law, public assemblies will include all aspects of public gatherings (manifestations, meetings, demonstrations, protest meetings), in enclosed or open premises, ensuring the free participation of an unspecified number of people.

For the sake of security, the organizer of a public assembly should notify the Ministry of Internal Affairs about holding it, and the steps which have been taken in this connection. Looking at this law, we can see that in practice in the main city of the Republic as well as throughout the country frequently such manifestations have been "blocked" because of dissatisfaction expressed by the workers or others. In this connection, the author of the legal text, although amendments are as yet to be submitted, specifically does not call for publicizing such assemblies. As we have pointed out, an assembly may be (but not must be) made public. It is not mandatory for such an announcement to include a program of the meeting, the place and time, the order-maintaining service, and so on. As we have found out, the government had the idea of requesting certain guarantees concerning eventual damages caused by the organizer, but the idea was rejected.

According to the new draft law on public assembly, the organizer and the people convening it must end the assembly if it turns into excesses and threats to the life and security and personal safety of people and property. The police, as well, has the right to close a meeting,

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should it determine that it is violating the constitutional order and threatening the independence and territorial integrity of the state, or else is promoting racial, religious, or national hatred or, in a word, anything which violates constitutional principles. Furthermore, the state will also react by imposing various penalties ranging from four to 20 salaries of the organizers, should the stipulations of this law be violated.

Appointment of Customs Director Proposed

95BA0175A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by K.C.: "Ilija Iljoski Propsed as Customs Director"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Iljoski is the general director of EMO [Electric Power Installation Enterprise] in Ohrid. Liberal Party [LP] representatives abstained from voting on the draft resolution on the appointment of a director of customs for the reason that no previous consultation with the parties constituting the parliamentary majority had taken place in advance.*

At its yesterday's session, the Commission on Election Issues and Names of the Republic of Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Yugoslavia—FYROM] Assembly approved as candidate for director of customs Ilija Iljoski, general director of the Ohrid EMO. This motion must be ratified by the parliament. The position of customs director was left vacant after Dimitar Duzlevski was named minister in the government of the Republic of Macedonia. The draft motion concerning candidate Iljoski was passed by majority vote, while two LP members abstained.

At the start of the session, LP member Ece Kocevski asked that the question be postponed, for no consultation had taken place among the parties constituting the parliamentary majority. Kocevski said that he has nothing against the suggested candidate for director of customs but opposes the step and procedure used to include the issue in the commission's agenda. The fact that no talks had taken place was confirmed by Ljubisav Ivanov from the SPM [Socialist Party of Macedonia] and Mevljan Tairi, from the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], who claimed that consultations must take place, particularly when it is a question of the appointment of officials to public institutions.

Natje Stojanovski from the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] said that this was an urgent issue and that he was astonished by Kocevski's intervention, since Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov had demanded a quick resolution of the issue. Kocevski answered that Andov's insistence was based on the need to fill the position in customs. On the other hand, this does not eliminate the need for previous agreements to be reached among political entities. In the discussion which followed, the representatives of the SDSM stressed the qualities of the nominated candidate, pointing out that he is a good manager and is familiar with the problems in this area. Although the members of the LP had requested of the commission to adopt a principled position whenever it becomes a question of appointing public officials subject to preliminary agreements among the SDSM, LP, SPM, and PDP, this conclusion was not put to a vote.

At yesterday's session, the Commission on Election Issues and Names approved the draft resolution on the appointment of two members of the Macedonian National Bank Council. Dr. Dimko Kokarevski, rector of Bitola University, and Dzevdet Hajredini, former finance minister, were nominated and, subsequently, approved by voice vote.

Electoral Campaign Allocations to Parties

95BA0175B Skopje VECER in Macedonian 1 Feb 95 p 7

[Article by S. Kramarska: "As Many Votes as Money!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Of the funds allocated for electoral expenditures, the highest amount—28.2 million denars—will go to the Alliance for Macedonia;*

The allocated funds will be paid to the parties after the individual funds allocated to the parties within the Union will be computed; the electoral coalition is currently the administrative obstacle to the implementation of this resolution;

The financing of political parties, based on the law, will begin in the spring.

In addition to gaining the privilege of being members of the second multiparty Assembly of the Republic, the favorites of last year's electoral campaign are about to be favored by the state with specific funds, to cover some of their electoral expenses. This somewhat late "New Year's" surprise (agreements and analyses concerning the computation of such funds made by the State Electoral Commission were completed by the end of December), equally applies to the independent representatives, whose electoral victory ensured them a share of the "pie" earmarked, in accordance with the Law on the Election and Recall of Representatives and Assembly Members, to cover part of their own electoral expenditures.

Resolution

The computation of the funds to be distributed is based on the number of votes garnered by individual representatives within parliament. In practical terms, according to the State Electoral Commission, one vote cast in the elections equals 77.5 denars, or approximately three German marks. Hence, the resolution that political parties and independent representatives in parliament receive their "earned" funds.

According to the resolution, the three parties—the Social Democratic Alliance and the Liberal and Socialist Parties, which were members of the Alliance for Macedonia, will earn a total of 28,286,029 denars. Followed in the

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list are the Party for Democratic Prosperity, which is entitled to 3,835,687 denars; the People's Democratic Party—1,394,982 denars, and the Liberal Party, 1,266,449 denars. The list also includes the Democratic Party of Turks and the Party for Democratic Action—Islamic Path, for a total of 369,799 denars; the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia—178,066 denars, and the Democratic Party of Macedonia (with headquarters in Tetovo)—158,158 denars.

In order to cover some of the electoral expenditures, the Socialist Party of Macedonia will receive another 392,788 denars; the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, 186,361; the sum of 448,246 denars will be jointly paid to the SDSM and LP. Included in the list of the parties is the Party for the Total Emancipation of Gypsies which, according to the resolution, will be paid 169,139 denars, followed by independent representatives Mirko Lazarevski, 244,268 denars; Rufi Osmani, 305,098 denars; Hisen Ramadani, 310,549; Ismi Sakiri, 400,846 denars; Sali Ramadani, 181,466 denars; Lazar Dimov, 356,612 denars; and Arden Dzaferi, 396,501 denars, as state compensation for the money spent in the electoral campaign.

Additionally

As the data indicate, the three leading parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] are included in the largest number of combinations—in the Alliance, either separately or in pairs. This means that the "political triangle" will be able to make the computations separately, regardless of the results of the State Electoral Commission. Actually, as we were told, the use of the funds which are now kept in the "drawer" of the Ministry of Finance, will wait until the total amount in excess of 28 million denars has been paid out to the members of the Alliance.

However, this is not the end of the financing of "politics" in the state, for Article 29 of the new Law on Political Parties calls for budget support of political entities. Last year, 10 million denars were allocated. However, since the law is not effective as yet, as we learned, these funds will not be rolled over for this year. That year, specifically, the amount was somewhat increased and totaled 12 million denars. According to the law, they are distributed as follows: 30 percent to the parties which have garnered no less than three percent of the votes in the last elections, while the remaining 70 percent goes to parties which are represented in parliament. This will be determined after resolving the situation of the reregistration of political parties as of March.

Provisions for Scrutinizing Voter Lists

95BA0175C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by L.K.: "No Interest Without Need"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the most problematic townships, the citizens ignore electoral lists. Wherever such lists have been published, no one looks at them.*

Some 15 days ago, Vlado Popovski, minister of justice, made public a new development concerning the previous method for updating electoral lists. Actually, this meant that, under his personal supervision, each three months electoral lists will be made public. During that time interval the citizens will be able to check whether they are entered or not and react, so that the exercise of voting rights will never again be questioned, at least when it becomes a question of technical issues. If we are to believe the statement by the minister on the implementation of his requirements, the "first round" in the publication of the list was completed. The fact that this is not functioning as well as made public can be seen from the information gathered "in the field." This leads to the conclusion that in our country introducing a new practice has always required time.

The information given by the ministry branches in the Karpos, Cair, Gazi Baba, Kisela Voda, and the Center in Skopje, indicates that the lists of citizens have still not been published, and that even currently they are subject to updating. Statements made by officials claim that the moment the lists are printed they will be published in the reception offices or the premises of the ministry units in the various townships. The people of the Karpos Skopje township are "more accurate," saying that the lists are being drawn up at their usual speed and that they will be ready on time for the local elections. The Cair township insisted on obtaining proper information from the Statistical Institute and were told that that institution will begin by dealing with the smaller townships within the state and then the larger ones, which, in fact, includes the five Skopje townships.

But what is happening with the "smaller" townships? A quick investigation indicates the following: The overall electoral list of the citizens with the right to vote within the Bitola township is available to the citizens at all times. It has been placed in a visible area, at the entrance of the building that houses the local units of the ministries, so that it can be subject to claims at all times. So far, however, the citizens are not displaying any interest although they are being constantly being reminded of this on the local radio. The same situation prevails in the villages, where registry officials must answer questions.

In Kumanovo township, ever since the elections, the lists have always been accessible to the public. All 17 local offices in the larger settlements have a copy of the electoral lists and a township assembly official who must make it possible for those who are interested not only to see but to object to the lists. However, here again there is a poor response on the part of the citizens, although the service has repeatedly informed them of that opportunity.

The situation in Tetovo is somewhat different; no electoral lists have been published for, as they claim to have been informed, the lists were being corrected by the Statistical Institute in Skopje. It is precisely in that city that a number of problems arose during the elections:

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The electoral lists, particularly for the city, were incomplete or with mixed electoral districts, and a greater number of citizens were not included in the lists, for which reason additional lists had to be drafted. The information concerning Kocani is that "so far electoral lists have not been placed in public areas, for the elections there lasted much longer than in the other townships." Nonetheless, Cane Dimitrov, chairman of the township electoral commission, claims that intensive work is being done to update the lists and to coordinate them with the data provided by the Kocani branch of the ministry. It is expected that the lists will be made public by the end of March. Naturally, in Kicevo, the general administration branch of the Ministry of Justice announced through the local information media that the citizens could come and correct possible omissions in the lists, which means that they have been published but that the response of the citizens has been minimal.

All of this indicates that the situation is indeed "regular," but one element is always in short supply: If there are lists, there are no interested citizens, and vice versa. The moment both will be present, let us hope that the third, the authority, will not deceive us.

Political Aspects of Police Personnel Policies

95BA0175D Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by S. Jakovlevski: "Is Politics Eroding the Police?!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Zlatko Kitev, in charge of general crimes, was suspended for a short time; commander Lazar Vanov, and Pero Stojanov, commander of the traffic police have been replaced, while the chief, Jordan Dafkov, resigned. To what extent are interparty account settlements to be blamed for this?*

Kavadarci, February

Recently a storm erupted concerning cadre changes in the local unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As we learned in the course of a conversation with Blagoj Nastov, interim head of the Kavadarci township branch of the ministry, within a short time several significant cadre changes have taken place in the Kavadarci police. The unraveling of the tangle began the moment, several months ago, Jordan Dafkov, the former head of the OVR [Township Internal Affairs] (former municipal judge and SO [Township Assembly] official who, for some 10 years, had been heading the police) suspended Vlatko Kitev, head of general criminal affairs. Only several days previously, by decision of the minister, Lazar Vanov, police commander, and Pero Stojanov, traffic police commander, were replaced and new young cadres appointed in their place. Whereas initially it was believed that this would put an end to the cadre renovation in the Kavadarci police, we were greatly surprised by the resignation of chief Dafkov who, hastily broke his contract and unexpectedly left the internal affairs authority. Despite efforts to present this in a different light, the personnel changes in the police were followed by tempestuous reactions and a tremendous deal of public interest, because of a somewhat different view on the matter.

To begin with, although made public some time ago, even the most ordinary citizens clearly realized that Dafkov's resignation was forced and that the breach of contract was only a farce, used to conceal the truth. Actually, for quite some time, the view was that at one point or another he would be replaced. The reasons quoted are several but, particularly emphasized are his friendship with and sponsorship of Jordan Tacev, the leader of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] branch and director of the Visesnica OP [Township Enterprise] who, with his aggressive activities in the course of the elections drew attention on himself. It is also believed that all this and the arbitrary management of Visesnica by Tacev, which has not been successful for some time, is backed by none other than his best man Dafkov.

On the other hand, generally speaking, he does not have good relations with many people belonging to the Liberal Party, particularly after some police interventions and the jailing of directors belonging to that party, who were subsequently declared innocent of police charges.

The ambition to hold this position was displayed by some influential individuals in the city. This applies to most leaders of the parties in power. Initially, most frequently mentioned was assemblyman Panco Minev, whose name has been mentioned in a number of affairs in Kavadarci. The comments may be reduced to the fact that, as the leader of the current Liberal Party, Minev will make everything possible to assume the leadership of the Kavadarci police in order to "help himself and his party." Meanwhile, after his reelection to the Assembly, the Kavadarci public named other people aspiring to hold this responsible position. Today the most serious candidate is Ilija Belevski, the head of the SDS [Social Democratic Alliance] branch who, after the Metalpromet breakdown, will remain practically unemployed. According to public comments in Kavadarci, appointing him to that function is strictly politically motivated. People in the know believe that it is proper for the liberals to repay, at least once, the SDS for the numerous concessions which it made in the electoral rounds for the three seats of representatives, by allowing one of the key functions in the city to be given to someone within their ranks and thus, to a certain extent at least, compensate for the impatience which is being increasingly shown by the leaderships of the two leading parties in the city. For the time being, the belief prevails that politics is to be blamed for cadre changes in the Kavadarci police, although such changes may be due to other rumored reasons.

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Imbalance in Parliamentary-Executive Relations

95BA0175E Skopje VECER in Macedonian 20 Feb 95 p 3

[Article by V.V. Adzigogova: "Does the Legislator Approve!?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The safe position of the government, secured by a tremendous parliamentary majority, and the possibility of using its superiority in the assembly, may lead to the danger of "forgetting" and eventually, working irresponsibly;*

The absence of an objective correcting factor—a real strong opposition—is the main "culprit" for a possible change in relations;

Why is it that in the application of the mechanisms for controlling the government the issue of possible results remains open?

The usual rule is to leave the government in peace for the first 100 days after the elections. Sixty days have passed since the present government was formed. Little time remains, and the few steps taken by the government make it impossible to determine how the government will act in the future. Nonetheless, assemblymen have already complained of its attitude. They have pointed out that they are faced with the practice of faits accomplis and, in the face of facts, to agree to something of which they are not entirely convinced. In this context they are not shy to mention that in the case of more than 20 acts, the Constitutional Court has determined their unconstitutionality. This does not encourage in any way the general concept of building a law-governed state.

They are also dissatisfied with the careless attitude displayed by government functionaries regarding issues raised by the envoys, the absence of representatives of the government in debates conducted by Assembly commissions, etc. They say that these are minor remarks, which nonetheless indicate a kind of supremacy exerted by the government over the legislation. They even claim that the possibility is real for the government, safe in its position, whose power derives from a tremendous parliamentary majority, to "forget" itself to such an extent and to engage in irresponsible actions.

Dislocation

Dr. Blagoja Brajanovski, from the Institute for Sociological and Political Legal Problems, agrees that such a danger exists. According to him, "unlike the developed parliamentary democracies, where relations between the various agencies of the government are known and approved, in our country such work has been changed for objective or subjective reasons." On the one hand, we have a government backed, above all, by the parties within the Alliance of Macedonia. Conversely, an objective correcting authority—a true opposition—is absent in the Assembly.

Brajanovski explains the following: "The government takes advantage of the fact that the representatives are 'its own,' and may compensate for what was omitted for a number of reasons by the previous assembly and may hastily pass a large number of laws. Meanwhile, we may reach a situation in which the parliament is reduced mainly to playing a decorative role and, in fact, respond even more weakly than the previous parliament to which a number of weaknesses could be ascribed but, given the strong opposition within it, the impression was one of holding parliamentary debates. Now, the sessions may turn into monotonous acts and the representatives may pass laws without analyzing their essence or, in as much as they have some remarks, fail to stress them properly."

Under such circumstances, it is possible for the parliamentarians to display a certain negative, although concealed, opposition to the actions of the executive authority. Meanwhile, the parliament will not make this obvious as a result of the adoption or nonadoption of a given law, for the simple reason that these people are, above all, the representatives of the parties within the Union, which is in power. In order to fill in the void of opposition, efforts are being made for some of the parties within the Union to act as opposition. According to Brajanovski, however, "this is futile."

Test

It is a fact that having a stable and strong government is desirable. However, this usually means power in the implementation of the approved strategy and policy, rather than the ability to dominate in the Assembly. For the time being, it is still too early to determine the type of strength that will be needed. In this context, Brajanovski said the following:

"In our country we can speak of a stable and even of a more than stable government. Its stability is judged also by the fact that it was formed by the members of the Union bloc itself, without requiring other participation. Unlike the previous government, which despite of a parliamentary majority could fall, this would be hard to accomplish in the present case. However, the party must not forget itself. The preceding four years were a test for it in order to prevent it from behaving as though no one can do anything until the next elections. We know that in the developed world the various steps taken are carefully recorded for the sake of developing positive initiatives by the voters, and the government itself may become devalued."

Because of the currently prevailing situation and the mechanisms which the parliamentarians could activate if they judge that something is not as it should be, including interpolations, representative questions, and the question of confidence in the government, in practical terms it is difficult to assume that the question of confidence in the government could be raised and yield substantial results.

"As a people, we are always loyal, for which reason it would be difficult for assemblymen, as the candidates of

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a party in parliament, to start being obstructionist. Basically this cannot be the case, for according to our electoral laws, the representatives indeed belong to a given party but in the Assembly they do not represent the party but the interests and demands of their electoral base. To the extent to which our representatives act in this manner, they will be true representatives and despite the fact that the government is 'theirs' will be able objectively to oppose some of its proposals or activities they disapprove of. To the extent to which this principle is applied, the executive authorities will act differently and think about their suggestions."

Now, in the present period, the representatives act as representatives of the party and, according to Brajanovski, it would be difficult to develop a different view of their functions. He adds that the Assembly itself, in its own way, helps develop such an attitude on the part of the government. It is a fact that the government still has no recorder [delovnik] and that even five years after the institution of parliamentarianism the technical conditions for work remain on the "prehistoric" level (conditions for debates, number of votes...). These are aspects, he points out, which do not present the Assembly in a good light. Despite this, however, it is impermissible for the government to exert its supremacy over the legislator for this is simply not an aspect of parliamentary democracy.

Political Parties Employ Bodyguards for Safety

95BA0083A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 17 Dec 94 p 15

[Article by Zoran Petrov and Emil Sterjevski: "Political Racket Forehand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Is all that has been happening in the course of the electoral campaign, especially of late, the result of the view that the activities of the Alliance for Macedonia will be blocked by the most radical exponents of the opposition?*

Prilep, 5 October—Electoral meeting of the Alliance for Macedonia. Preceding the report of the cultural segment of the program, while the final preparations are being made on the stage, a group of some 30 members of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] displaying the already familiar party features fill the vacuum on the stage with the slogans "down with Serb-communist blabber," "the VMRO is the salvation of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]," or else "Macedonia—Prilep does not surrender your name." This is an obvious provocation and, in order to avoid an eventual incident, routine police intervention is required (isolation, suppression) in order to remove the provocateurs. However, the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] forces do nothing, although a large number of them are present and reinforced with dogs. The intervention is provided by some 10 members of the Alliance's security force. Armed with short rubber sticks and brass knuckles, they disperse the crowd without any warning. Silently, the uniformed police watch all this. The news spreads that those people are, actually, members of the special forces of the MVR wearing civilian clothes. They are using "walkie-talkie" sets to communicate, and the registration tags on their Mercedes cars show that they are from Prilep. This entire confrontation was taped by "A-1" television but was never telecast.

'Hard Rock' Exposure

The following day, at the news conference, in discussing the Prilep event, the VMRO-DPMNE claimed that the security forces of the Alliance are former criminals and known delinquents. In the meeting with the journalists, Tito Petrovski, the spokesman for the Alliance for Macedonia, said that the quarrel was initiated by the members of the VMRO-DPMNE and that he has videotapes as proof. To this day, this proof has not been provided. Various opinions have been expressed by the public, but the predominant view is that this is a matter of interparty accounts, consistent with the electoral period. Gradually, the case is forgotten.

Although it had been said that similar incidents occurred subsequently in Tetovo, Stip, and Titov Veles, they never equaled the publicity of the Prilep case. Subsequent electoral developments suppressed many other unanswered questions, such as who were the members of the Alliance's security, was their sole function to ensure the safety of the meetings, and were they granted broader rights as members of the MVR? The second variant was more logical, for it would be difficult to conceive that the parties within the Alliance for Macedonia, backed by the entire machinery of the state, would become involved with such questionable individuals.

Matters assumed a different development on 26 November, when a well-organized group of some 40 individuals, armed with baseball bats and metal sticks, wrecked the familiar "Hard Rock" discotheque in Skopje. Identified as the leaders of this group were Ljuan Cavoli, Roli Jakupovic, Aleksandar Bocevski, and Ljupco Koparevski (the first two were detained), who are known members of the Skopje underground. The news exploded like a bomb that these were the "special security forces" of the Alliance for Macedonia, present at its meetings, equipped with police radios and using state automobiles, and were among those who had been beating people in Prilep. All this developed into a source of political scandal that seems to seriously worsen relations among the coalition partners in the new government. This becomes even more important in light of the stubborn insistence on the part of the Liberals to settle this issue. It becomes very obvious that it will be necessary to explain the connection between the Alliance and the wreckers of the "Hard Rock," about whom it is still unknown whether they acted as protectors of the leaders of the victorious coalition, as their political supporters, or else, which is more likely, whether they

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were motivated by any specific interest, such as, for instance, a fat fee, protection of familiar Skopje coffeeshops, bars, and discotheques (a sophisticated form of classical racketeering), and other profitable establishments.

Because no official statements have been made by the leading individuals in the parties within the Alliance for Macedonia, especially Blagoja Handziski and Lazar Kitanovski (head of the joint electoral staff and in charge of security at Alliance for Macedonia meetings), who should explain the reason for collaborating with known delinquents, new titillating details are being spread, turning this into a first-rate scandal. One of them is that the "security forces" of the Alliance enjoy the total support and cooperation of the local police forces and even that their ranks included some members of the MVR elite units. The most logical question in this entire situation is why were such people hired, when the MVR itself has a specialized service providing protection and security to individuals.

The most logical answer, which is not likely to be confirmed, is that this was based on the view that the meetings held by the Alliance will be extensively blocked by the most radical exponents of the opposition parties, and that it would be better to prevent the activities of individuals such as Jakupovic, Cavoli, or Koparevski, and then present the event as the views of a group of politically non-like-minded citizens. That is well and good but....

A 'Different' Security

Also normal and expected is for the parties, particularly the more influential ones, that organize mass meetings during the electoral campaign to have their own special security and order services. Thus, quite impressive were the "red berets" of the VMRO-DPMNE who, among others, were in charge of maintaining order at that party's meetings. Another group of people was in charge of providing bodily protection to the VMRO-DPMNE leaders. According to Aleksandar Dinevski, a former high official in the SDB [State Security Service] and currently a member of the VMRO-DPMNE leadership and organizer of providing security at the meetings of that party, operative security services include some 10 individuals, whose number greatly increases in some larger meetings. According to Dinevski, it is a question exclusively of party activists who volunteer for the job. Their main task, according to Dinevski, is to protect the party leaders only in the event of physical attack and to prevent possible incidents in the course of meetings.

The other opposition party—the Democratic Party [DP]—categorically states that they had absolutely no security provisions in the course of the electoral campaign. As we were told, the party staff, the Republic Assembly, insisted on security measures, above all in order to ensure better control and order in the meetings. However, the proposal was rejected. In the case of some individuals whose presence behind and around the stage was noted, we found out that they had been recruited as "forces of order" among employees of private companies, whose owners are members, sympathizers, or financial supporters of the DP.

It is nonetheless a fact that each individual party resolves the question of its own security according to its needs and possibilities and, above all, its assessments of a possible development of events on the site. It is also clear that those used for this purpose are people whose past history is not impeccable. This so-called unification based on interest indicates that it has its own risks and, by now, quite obvious consequences. It is a different question whether the "fraternization" is based on purely ideological reasons or material or "alibi" reasons.

[Box, p 15]

Unofficially, but based on reliable sources, we have found out that the people who wrecked the "Hard Rock" had already been able to ensure (the racket of) familiar Skopje coffeeshops such as "Bulevar" and "Akademija." What is most likely is that whatever happened at "Hard Rock" was the result of the rejected demand for providing unrequired services. In this context, again unofficially, another feature is of interest: the fact that the fees paid for the services of this "team" providing security to the Alliance for Macedonia was provided by a company from Skopje.

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Government Loan To Finance Military Purchases

AU1803211295 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari in the name of the state yesterday signed an agreement with the representatives of five Slovene banks to take out a long-term loan worth a little less than $16 million. When we tried to find out how this money will be spent, the incumbent where either unattainable or refused to speak. Suzana Kos reports:

[Begin recording] The statement that the state has taken out a loan with a group of Slovene banks is interesting at first glance primarily because the Finance Ministry is at this time encountering a budget surplus. Because the loan in question is a foreign currency loan, one can speculate that it involves payment of obligations abroad. Added to this the fact that the loan is long-term, we can also say that the payment will be made over a longer period of time.

It is known that the parliament passed the law on the so-called defense tolar a few months ago. Slovenia recently purchased three Pilatus aircraft and several helicopters. To recap, the abovementioned law on the defense tolar stipulates that the payment of purchased arms and military equipment will be made primarily through the counter sale of Slovene goods abroad. However, rumor has it that public bids on this issue were not successful, which evidently means that purchases for so-called fundamental defense requirements will be settled primarily with long-term loans, like that which Finance Minister took out from a group of Slovene banks in the name of the state yesterday.

The loan worth $15.7 million will be used to purchase military communications equipment. If nothing else, what is positive in the entire affair is that a group of Slovene banks—Nova Ljubljanska Banka, A Banka, Dolenjska Banka, Pomurska Banka, and Splosna Banka Velenje—managed to agree on a conglomerate [sindiciran] loan at all. It is a type of loan from a group of banks, customary for financing larger projects. We should add that the agreement signed yesterday is the first of its kind in Slovenia. [end recording]

Thaler: Foreign Policy, Relations With Italy

AU1803194595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Mar 95

[Report by Zvone Zorko on the news conference by Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler in Ljubljana on 17 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Minister Zoran Thaler, a mandate for negotiations on Slovenia's associate EU membership as well as the fact that the negotiations formally commenced in Brussels two days ago may doubtlessly be considered the greatest accomplishment of Slovene foreign policy recently.

The minister emphasized that deadlines were completely harmonized in Brussels and that the French expressed the hope that the agreement will be initialed during their presidency. Next week, the Slovene Government will probably create a departing platform for associate membership talks. We should emphasize that there are no essential differences to the draft agreement already prepared by the EU commission. The negotiations themselves will talk place in several rounds, the first of which will commence at the beginning of April.

Minister Thaler then mentioned the final Pact on Stability in Europe conference that will take place in Paris on 20 and 21 March and which Minister Thaler will use to conduct several bilateral meetings.

Regarding relations with Croatia, we will continue bilateral talks as preparation for a summit at the highest level.

Minister Thaler expounded on relations with Italy in detail. Above all, he stressed that Slovenia welcomes heartily yesterday's decision of the Italian Parliament to vote for confidence in the current Italian Government, as this will facilitate the continuation of talks. It is definitely in our interest, Thaler said, to take advantage of the current favorable climate. Our proposals are aimed chiefly at strengthening cooperation in all spheres, also regarding the position of the Slovene minority in Italy, which is currently in a very difficult situation. Here, Minister Thaler expressed hope that it would be possible to find a humanitarian, reciprocal solution that would be primarily in a spirit of reconciliation and orientation toward the future.

Slovene Foreign Minister again emphasized that the agreement itself, in the chapter on foreigners' rights to purchase real estate, refers only to the right to purchase real estate for commercial purposes and also that Brussels does not intend to deal either with Slovene-Italian bilateral relations or the property of the option-taker [optant].

State Secretary Praises Privatization Progress

AU1903220295 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 9 Mar 95 p 9

[Report by Marjan Lacic: "'Proceed With Caution' in Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 9 March—Upon his return from an international privatization conference, Privatization State Secretary Tone Rop stated that Slovenia became a successful state not merely in terms of economic achievements but also in privatization achievements. Privatization may have been slow in Slovenia so far, primarily due to the protracted passing of a compromise proposal, but even foreign assessments believe we can progress through the final phases faster than others and use the realized privatization as additional means for even more successful economic development.

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State Secretary Tone Rop said that Slovene citizens have so far used more than 364 billion tolars worth of certificates. Approximately 157 billion tolars were registered in enterprises and 207 billion tolars in authorized funds. Some 1,035,000 citizens have already exhausted their certificates completely.

By the beginning of March, the Agency for Privatization received privatization programs from 1,388 companies, the social social capital of which is estimated at 87 percent of the social capital of the enterprises that are being transformed in accordance with the Law on Property Transformation. All these numbers—each in its own way—confirm the assessment of foreign experts that Slovenia will catch up with the Czech Republic and Hungary by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Foreign Investors Interested in TV Stations

95BA0180D Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 22 Feb 95 p 24

[Article by Jozica Hribar: "Foreigners Are Interested in Our TV Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Four private TV stations are establishing a production firm together with foreigners; is the Slovene media market really of interest to foreigners just because of the profits?*

Ljubljana, 11 Feb—If everything goes according to plan, as early as the end of February a new mixed enterprise for the production and marketing of TV programs should begin operation in Slovenia. A contract with the U.S. enterprise CME [Central European Media Enterprises Group] is to be signed by three, and according to some reports four, Slovene private television stations, namely Kanal A, MMTV, and Tele 59 from Maribor, and the fourth will possibly be EURO 3, in which Kanal A's owners have majority ownership.

According to Vladimir Polic, the director of Kanal A, reputedly the first private Slovene TV station, they have almost reached agreement, and the experts just have to put together a contract. The foreigners will allegedly be 32-percent owners of the new enterprise, which still does not have a name or director; MMTV and Tele 59 will allegedly have 11.5-percent shares, and Kanal A (and EURO 3) are expected to have a 45-percent share.

Vladimir Polic mentioned $18 million in capital to be used to start up the new enterprise, and denied the rumors about Kanal A's financial difficulties. According to him, most of the money will be invested in the new enterprise by the three or four Slovene television stations, and the foreigners will primarily contribute knowledge and equipment.

Difficulties With Their Own Production

The statements by the other possible signatories of the contract are of interest. Whereas Vladimir Polic and Bojan Pozar, EURO 3's [illegible], think that we can expect the signing of the contract at the end of this month, the other two expected partners are much less optimistic. The owner and director of the MMTV TV station, Marjan Meglic, says that they have indeed talked, but they are still a long way from signing a contract. Although they are interested in being seen throughout Slovenia, they are thinking seriously, and will only sign a contract that they see as clearly useful. MMTV is already cooperating well with private TV stations in Slovenia by exchanging some of their own productions, namely those that are considered successful and interesting for the rest of Slovenia as well.

The Maribor TV station TELE 59 also has serious doubts about the imminent signing of the contract, because it has not gone any further than initial talks.

The Slovene private television firms have great difficulties with their own productions; Vladimir Polic mentioned inefficiency in buying and translating films, because every television station does its own translation and modification of foreign films and broadcasts purchased abroad, which is of course substantially more expensive. The new enterprise, in fact, would buy foreign productions and also handle its own production and marketing. Obviously foreigners are interested in the Slovene market because they see definite profits there. Polic, to be sure, asserts that the joint participation of foreign capital in the new enterprise will not mean the penetration of foreigners into the Slovene media, and that they will not be able to influence the programming policy of the above-mentioned TV companies, but in view of the audience of these three TV stations, which have their own frequencies—including EURO 3—it is clear that they naturally want very much to penetrate the Slovene market. According to the Law on Public Media, foreigners can only be one-third owners of radio or television stations.

Foreigners Cannot Receive Their Own Frequencies

According to rumors circulating around Ljubljana, and according to Italy's IL PICCOLO, the British enterprise Barin Communication Equity, Ltd., is also supposed to have invested money in Kanal A, and Kanal A is also supposed to be a 33-percent owner of the EURO 3 station, although Bojan Pozar says that the ownership share has not yet been paid in cash.

According to the above-mentioned law, foreigners cannot obtain their own frequencies in Slovenia, and likewise one that has already been obtained can only be used by its owner, i.e., only a specific station, and no one else.

Counting up the percentages of foreign capital in individual television companies, and observing that the above-mentioned four stations have their own frequencies and transmitters, we can understand foreign capital's interest in the Slovene media.

In addition to a transmitter on Krim, which also covers most of Ljubljana, Kanal A also has one on Plesivec

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(Maribor and the vicinity) and on Trdin Vrh, so that we can also see it in Lower Carniola. Meglic's TV station, or MMTV, is relatively new, but already fairly well established, and it can be received throughout all of Ljubljana (except Moste) and the immediate vicinity, and it is also seen in Novo Mesto, Krsko, and Brezice. TELE 5, whose headquarters is in Maribor, has its own frequency, although it is not broadcasting, according to the latest data, because of the installation of equipment.

As we have already mentioned, EURO 3 also has its own frequency, and has likewise already announced on several occasions that it will start broadcasting, even though it is having considerable difficulties with a technical connection with Krvavec, through which it will broadcast.

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Federal

Papoulias on Milosevic Meeting, Sanctions

NC1703140495 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1230 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has concluded his lengthy talks with Serb President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. The ATHENS NEWS AGENCY reported that bidding Papoulias goodbye, Milosevic asked him to convey his warm regards to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. Milosevic said: We hope to see him in Belgrade soon.

Asked about the purpose of his visit to Belgrade, Papoulias stressed that the meeting he had with Milosevic today falls within the framework of Greece's very good relations with Yugoslavia and Papandreou's personal relations with Milosevic. He said: It is a period of many efforts to find a solution to the great problem of the former Yugoslavia. The EU foreign ministers will hold an informal meeting in Carcassonne tomorrow. I believe the Bosnian crisis and the crisis in the former Yugoslavia will be the main topics on the agenda. I will convey Milosevic's concerns.

The Greek foreign minister reiterated that Greece, along with other Balkan countries, has undertaken the initiative to ask the UN Security Council to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Asked to comment on Turkish claims that Greece is supposedly behind the unrest in Turkey, Papoulias said the claim is unacceptable, unfounded, and the Turkish Government's effort to blame third parties for its domestic crisis; it is behavior that has nothing to do with what Turkey is trying to achieve: That is the approach of the EU. He added that other rules of behavior are in effect at the EU.

Position To Be Presented to EU

AU1703214495 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 95

[News conference by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias with unidentified foreign and domestic correspondents in Belgrade on 17 March—recorded; Papoulias statements in Greek with passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias is going to present President Milosevic's position concerning the resolution on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia to his EU colleagues. This is what Papoulias said in Belgrade after meeting with his host:

[Papoulias] You know quite well that the relations between Greece and the new Yugoslavia are very good. Moreover, the relations between Mr. Milosevic and Mr. Papandreou are very friendly. It seems to me that this is a period of joint efforts to find a solution to the great problem that the new Yugoslavia is faced with. The EU foreign ministers will meet tomorrow at an informal meeting in France, and it seems to me that the Bosnian crisis will be one of the main problems discussed at the meeting. It will certainly be important for me to present Mr. Milosevic's positions at the general discussions at the ministerial meeting.

[Correspondent] Did you discuss the lifting of the sanctions, and will Greece support the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Papoulias] This is one of the main issues. You are well aware of Greece's positions. We have always supported the position that extraordinary steps have to be made toward the lifting of the sanctions. You are also aware of the fact that Greece is also affected by the embargo, as well as that we and other countries affected by the embargo have presented a joint initiative to the Security Council.

[Correspondent] How do you see the role of Yugoslavia in resolving the Yugoslav crisis?

[Papoulias] Yugoslavia has an important role; in fact, it has the leading role.

Russian Support for Lifting of Sanctions Noted

AU1803212295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of a visit to the Russian Federation, Bosko Perosevic [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) Assembly delegation head] assessed the overall effect of several days of talks with the Russian partners for the Radio and Television Serbia newscast:

[Begin recording] The FRY Assembly delegation, in the course of its visit to Russia, held 17 official meetings and discussions during which we became positively convinced of the resolve of the Russian Parliament, Russian Government, and public opinion to lift sanctions against Yugoslavia.

We witnessed this when the Duma deputies again proposed to examine a law that would lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia by Russia unilaterally. The deputies of the Russian Duma also raised numerous economic issues that are currently of importance to Yugoslavia. We held talks with all faction representatives in the Russian Duma, who were unanimous regarding sanctions against Yugoslavia, which is new in view of earlier political trends.

During the stay in Russia we also visited the Krasnodar region, where we adopted in principle an agreement on cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical, and cultural spheres between the Krasnodar region and Vojvodina. We hope that this cooperation will intensify during the visit of Krasnodar region managers and

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businessmen to the Novi Sad fair, at which time we will substantively negotiate economic cooperation, primarily.

During our visit we also observed that our businessmen should be make their presence felt much more on Russian territory, in terms of economic cooperation, because this market is currently very significant for the West and we must not lose it despite the sanctions under which we live and work at present.

Bulatovic on Army Reform, Peace Prospects

LD1903135895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 19 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—Taking part in a "Guest of TANJUG" meeting, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic said that "all possible rationalization and savings measures, even those that affect the standard, are being utilized by the Yugoslav Army in order to maintain and heighten the level of combat readiness of Yugoslav Army units."

Bulatovic explained that the economic and financial situation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was such that the principles of the country's economic recovery must not be disrupted; "in other words, its program must not be affected but, at the same time, the necessary level of combat readiness in the Yugoslav Army must be maintained so that it serves as a deterrent against possible aggression at all times."

The Federal defense minister stressed that a process of transformation was taking place in the Yugoslav Army. This process was defined by its objectives and the amount of money available. He said that the main goals of the transformation process were to build a modern, strong, well-equipped, professional, and ideologically neutral army. He went on to note, however, that one of the conditions for this, i.e., finances, "have not been adequate enough to speed up the transformation."

Bulatovic said that there was a firm commitment on the part of the state not to disrupt the existing Federal budget allocations, not to allow a budgetary deficit, and to insist on the anticipated budget of 2.2 billion dinars "remaining the scope beyond which the government cannot go."

Accordingly, budgetary allocations as they stand now will enable us to maintain the combat readiness of Yugoslav Army units at the required level, but at the price of reducing other commitments—even those that affect the general and personal standard of professional soldiers and conscripts.

The Federal defense minister drew attention to the problem of the cadre drain from the Yugoslav Army as a result of low pay and inadequate housing policy. Noting that patriotism alone was not enough to make a person remain loyal to one profession, Bulatovic went on to say that there should be an improvement in general conditions in order to solve the problem, in the standard and in the prospects for creative achievements.

Minister Bulatovic described the housing policy as exceptionally complicated, noting that—according to official figures—about 18,000 Yugoslav Army personnel were waiting to have their housing problem resolved. With the help of scientific and research institutions, we have been looking at ways to overcome this exceptionally difficult but pressing problem.

"Our orientation is increasingly to resort to buying housing rather than building from scratch, the reasons being both the time and the cost," Bulatovic said. He said that a new set of regulations governing the allocation of housing is being drawn up with the aim of removing the shortcomings of the present system.

Speaking about the current military and political situation in our part of the world, Minister Bulatovic stressed that the FRY was an important factor from the demographic, economic, and military point of view and that the war on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia had resulted in international pressures against the FRY.

He noted that only interests remained constant in international affairs and went on to say that our country was being accused of aggression, despite the fact that it had observed all relevant UN Security Council resolutions, including the one that called for the severance of both political and economic relations with the Srpska republic. "Despite our pronounced commitment to the idea of a peaceful and political solution to the crisis in Bosnia, the sanctions have not yet been lifted," he pointed out. He went on to say that it was his firm belief that the decision to lift the sanctions was "relatively imminent."

The Federal defense minister stressed that he had talks during his recent visit to Moscow with the Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "On that occasion, I stressed that the idea that the key to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis was exclusively in the hands of Belgrade could not be seen as being a realistic one. If this were true, we would not have severed our political and economic relations with the Srpska republic. If we were in the position to decide on war and peace in Bosnia, peace would have been restored there a long time ago," Bulatovic said.

He sees the decision by Croatian President Tudjman, first to withdraw hospitality to UN forces and later to rescind it, as "a maneuver most likely designed to help Tudjman to defuse tensions in the country and to place Croatia in the focus of international developments."

"Could he alone have made such a decision, and would he have been allowed to persist so long in resisting America, France, England, and Germany?" Bulatovic

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asked. He went on to conclude: "Obviously, it was all a result of an agreement and common strategy."

In the view of the Yugoslav defense minister, it would be very risky to marginalize the peace forces and their mandate. He thinks that the idea of a part of the [UN] forces being deployed along the separation line and the other along the border will complicate the mechanisms of reaching agreement and resolving certain issues by political means.

"Regardless of how events unfold in the future, it is better to have them here than not—regardless of the nature of their mandate," Bulatovic said. He went on to add that "what should not be allowed to happen is to give NATO the role of the peacekeeping forces."

Stressing that the issue of Prevlaka was of exceptional importance, he said he hoped that it would be resolved through negotiations and that the way would be found to reach a fair demarcation between Croatia and the FRY. "The FRY has fulfilled all its commitments from the Cosic-Tudjman agreement, but Croatia has not. It continues to build bunkers and fortifications in the 'yellow zone,'" Bulatovic said.

"The issue of Prevlaka clearly shows that the West has chosen to ignore all that was done in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after World War II and insists only on the AVNOJ-drawn [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders. Administrative borders drawn up in such an illogical way are one of the causes of the war."

The Federal defense minister expressed the view that, for several reasons, the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was not only a civil or religious war, but it also contained elements of a world conflict: its duration, the number of casualties, the level of destruction, the amount and types of weapons used, and the degree of direct and indirect involvement by world and international organizations.

According to Bulatovic, it is no secret that the Muslim world very strongly supports the Muslims and that Germany is helping Croatia regardless of the existing resolutions. "Croatia's military budget for 1995 stands at $5.3 billion. This is almost incomprehensible considering the level of development in that country," he said. He also noted that in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the best of times the highest military budget amounted to no more than $4 billion.

Bulatovic drew attention to the significant amount of interest shown by the West in the treaty signed by the FRY Defense Ministry and the Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation on 28 February 1995. Bulatovic said that he accepts that many questions prompted by the treaty were understandable but asked why there was no similar reaction to identical or similar agreements such as the one between the United States and Croatia, the United States and Albania, and the Muslim-Croat agreement, etc.

He said that under a clause in the treaty between the Ministries of Defense of the FRY and the Russian Federation, the treaty will come into force only once the sanctions against our country have been lifted. "Under this treaty, tomorrow, when necessary conditions are created, our two ministries, the Yugoslav Army, and the Russian Federation Army will be able to reach and enter into specific agreements and protocols on cooperation," Bulatovic explained. He stressed the importance of the fact that the treaty was endorsed by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As chairman of the operational group of the Yugoslav committee for marking the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism, Bulatovic said that "without any falsification of history and without any attempts to bring ideology into it, various planned activities must promote our people's contribution to the victory over fascism."

"The contribution of Serbia and Montenegro was exceptional. Attention must be drawn to this fact since an illusion has been created as a result of someone's will that other nations of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also made significant contribution to the struggle against fascism. The truth is that they simply jumped on the Serb and Montenegrin bandwagon," the federal defense minister said.

In his view, at the same time this will be an opportunity to show that the Serb nation harbors no genocidal policy and to remind the world that Serbs and Montenegrins were the ones who suffered most in this part of the world and that it was here that the monstrous idea of killing 100 people for each dead fascist soldier was conceived and carried out. The 50 years of the victory over fascism must be marked in a dignified way. We owe this not just to those killed and the survivors but also to our future generations to ensure that fascist ideology never again raises its head either here or anywhere else, Bulatovic said.

Jovanovic on Results of Trip to Italy, Vatican

AU1803211095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 95

[Excerpt from an interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on his visit to Italy and the Vatican by Tamara Motrenko; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] During these talks we had an opportunity to raise topical issues in bilateral relations and cooperation with Italy and the Vatican and also to exchange opinions on current Yugoslav crisis issues. We established that Italy and the Vatican are interested in further strengthening contacts and dialogue with us in order to consolidate and develop bilateral cooperation more quickly and also positively influence a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. In this sense, both sides listened to our arguments and expressed due understanding for the need to very seriously examine sanctions

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as a severe obstacle to peace and either suspend them or render them harmless to the peace process in another way.

We must admit nevertheless that neither Italy nor the Vatican have the power to intervene meaningfully in this process. Their increased understanding for the problem of lifting sanctions can definitely prove useful to other countries (?involved) in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis to adopt a similar approach and finally lift the sanctions.

We also concluded that Italy and Vatican are both sincerely interested in ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as quickly as possible and transforming the entire territory of the earlier Yugoslavia, as quickly as possible, into a region of peace and stability. In this sense, the substantial, central, peace-promoting role of Yugoslavia in this process was acknowledged. They expressed the expectation that Yugoslavia will continue to offer great stimuli for the peace process. They did this in belief that something more serious would be done regarding the alleviation, that is, the lifting of sanctions in the near future.

Therefore, to conclude, I can say that on this occasion we mutually enriched one another by learning about the other side's disposition on all these issues. We jointly concluded that we must stay in touch and in this way, also, constructively influence the further development of the peace process and prevent certain accumulated negative factors from mutating into a new explosion of tensions and proliferation of war.

Status, Modernization of Railroads Discussed

95BA0186D Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 95 pp 38-39

[Article by Zoran Bundalo: "The Future of the Rail Transit Corridor Through Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—[Passage omitted] An essential factor and precondition for Yugoslavia's effective inclusion in Europe's social, economic, and technological flows is an advanced rail transportation system, affording unhindered flow of freight and passengers in European space. However, our current transportation situation is extremely unfavorable. We still have not had practical measures in our country to put together a new transportation policy that would respect all the comparative advantages of the railroads, nor has there been any discussion of creating a strategy for development of the transportation system as a whole, one based on the commitments in the transportation policy of the European Union and present-day trends in the development of transportation worldwide.

It is sufficient to mention a few parameters that reflect these observations. In Serbia at the moment there are more than 18,500 buses and only 930 railroad passenger cars, only 35 percent of which are fit for international traffic. This unenviable relationship has stood for many years now, in spite of the fact that we have electric power, but do not have petroleum. As for the railroad infrastructure, the situation is still more indicative: Insufficient investment in repair and major maintenance of track over long years has had a very adverse effect on its technical condition, and this has repercussions primarily in the unfavorable axle load of the track and the extremely low speeds permitted. Of the approximately 4,000 km of track belonging to the Yugoslav railroads, only 8 percent is capable of speeds between 100 and 120 km/hr, while train speeds higher than 120 km/hr in our country are still only a dream.

The lack of money, one of the painful consequences of the sanctions, has especially affected the railroads. The FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] has been officially under an international blockade since 27 April 1993, the day when the notorious Resolution 820 was adopted. Since then, only the transport of passengers, pharmaceutical products, and food has been allowed. All neighboring countries have been called upon to prevent passage of their vehicles in freight transportation (trains, trucks, ships). The geographic gymnastics personified by flows of freight detouring around Yugoslavia has had an extremely adverse effect on the Yugoslav railroads. In 1990, transit of international freight trains brought Serbia and Montenegro a profit of about $100 million, and it is estimated that at the end of this century that amount would be 2.5-fold greater (assuming, of course, the sanctions are not in place). The loss of the nonexistent transit for every year under the sanctions has really been formidable.

But in spite of the sanctions and the lack of money that our two railroad enterprises have been experiencing, certain investments in the railroad infrastructure were planned even for this year. The program "Serbia's New Railroad" has defined priority programs for development of the railroads in Serbia. The Serbian railroad (whose territory is crossed by the entire transit corridor through our country), that is, has not halted its development even in the most difficult years and has been maintaining its investment activity insofar as abilities at the moment have allowed.

On the basis of Serbia's position in transportation geography as the main crossroads in this part of Europe, the first of the priority railroad programs is to build a modern European transportation route between Belgrade and Subotica as a part of the route Subotica-Belgrade-Nis-Dimitrovgrad, that is, "our" rail transit corridor. The other priority programs are to complete the Belgrade rail junction, to build the Valjevo-Loznica line, and to electrify the Pozega-Kraljevo-Lapovo line.

Although it involves the almost symbolic sum of 138 million dinars, almost half of these funds are envisaged to modernize the Subotica-Belgrade main line. The justifiability of investing in this project has been proven in studies done by specialists of the Transportation Institute of the CIP [expansion not known] together with

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their French colleagues from the institute Sofrerail. Unless modernization of that rail route is undertaken (no less than 55 percent of it is single-track line), the Yugoslav railroads would "drop out" of the system for development of the European railroads.

Without up-to-date transportation, rail transportation in particular, we will not have access to the advanced world in the future. Because of the war on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, but also because of the outdated infrastructure, we have become a "stress" point on routes between West and central Europe, on the one hand, and southeastern Europe, the Near East, and the Middle East, on the other. It is small consolation that the other Balkan countries cannot exactly brag about the condition of their transportation infrastructure, especially rail infrastructure, either.

The only way, then, not to lose the opportunities and to remain on the European transportation market, that is, to eliminate the present transportation isolation (when certain political prerequisites come about, of course), is to continue investing in the railroads. We should not blame our neighbors if they build something, but ourselves, if in the time that comes we do not do enough or do not even do anything.

Only by making investments to build a modern infrastructure of transportation and communications, which in the railroads is manifested through construction of high-speed lines, can we keep from losing the connection to Europe. The level of industrialization of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the coming period will in a way be determined by realization of the project for modernization of the Serbian railroads. That is, the investment projects of the Belgrade Railroad Transportation Enterprise are even now bringing together more than 200 domestic firms in the Consortium for Modernization of the Serbian Railroads. These firms would work on capital investment projects in cooperation with foreign partners, which would embrace transfer of technology, so that only 10 to 15 percent of the necessary components would be imported.

And in the end we can conclude that in an altered environment we have real expectations that we can utilize our country's advantages in transportation geography and take that position in the transportation system of Europe that objectively belongs to us (which depends both on Europe and also on us ourselves).

Bulgarian-Yugoslav Economic Cooperation

95BA0186C Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 95 p 22

[Article including an interview with Stefan Peykov, chief of a business delegation from the Bulgarian city of Burgas to Belgrade, by M. Lakicevic; place and date of interview not given: "Black Sea Mission in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Burgas might be the largest Serbian port on the Black Sea—this statement by Stefan Peykov, head of the first Black Sea Trade Mission, might sum up the ambitions of the group of Bulgarian business executives from the region of Burgas who last week were the guests of their Belgrade counterparts. This three-day meeting (from Monday to Wednesday) was organized on the Bulgarian side by the trade and cultural center Geopan, of which Peykov is the president, and by the Belgrade World Trade Center, whose director is Olga Milicevic, as host.

It is, of course, likely that this sentence contained some flattering hyperbole, but it is certain that the potential for cooperation between the economies of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria has not been fully utilized by any means. It is no accident at all that we should have chosen Burgas for promotion of that cooperation, because this is a region with highly developed ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemical industry, construction, and production and processing of leather, textiles, food.... Everything produced in Bulgaria is also produced in our region, Peykov said, adding: "For that matter, the Japanese proclaimed Burgas the most important geostrategic region in Bulgaria, and I think the Japanese are right."

The membership of the mission, which included management personnel from the Burgas seaport and airport, and then the local stock exchange, firms in the sectors of construction, metallurgy, and the food manufacturing industry, as well as representatives from Kres, the largest Bulgarian marketing agency, and editors of local newspapers, indicates that the guests took this mission quite seriously and placed great hopes on it. It might also be said that the hosts responded in kind. The welcoming committee at the Belgrade fair brought together a decent number of firms, headed by Radoje Djukic, minister for entrepreneurship in the Government of Serbia. The Bulgarian businessmen were received by Djordje Siradovic, federal trade minister, and then Mihailo Milojevic, president of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce, and finally an agreement was signed on mutual cooperation. An initiating committee was also formed for establishment of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav Business Club, whose members included on the Bulgarian side not only Stefan Peykov, but also Stoyan Kiriazov, president of the firm Sprint (design and construction); Dimitur Sabkov (DARS, which trades in metal and metallurgical products); Krasimir Stoychev; Luka Burgas; and Nikolay Manolov, who heads the Administration for International Affairs of Burgas District. On the Yugoslav side, the following became members of the initiating committee: Sinisa Zaric, director of the Belgrade fair; Milija Zecovic, chairman of the Yugoslav Council for International Management; Dragoljub Vukosavljevic, Union Banka; Ranko Zizic, Kondor; and Milan Nikolic of Simpo.

We took advantage of the visit of the Bulgarian businessmen to put a few questions to Mr. Stefan Peykov, head of the mission.

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* * *

[Lakicevic] What guided you in organizing a meeting of this kind?

[Peykov] There has long been an economic corridor between Belgrade and Burgas. What is more, I would say that this is one of the geostrategic axes in the Balkans. It is a fact that there is a possibility of reviving this corridor, which means two things: one, for the Black Sea to reach Belgrade, and second, for Belgrade to reach the Black Sea. You yourself can say whether there is harm in that. This idea has been raised at a moment when Yugoslavia is isolated. We would like to express our freedom as businessmen, our right to free initiative, and we feel that our politicians will understand us. I am convinced that that will be the case.

[Lakicevic] You mentioned the sanctions. How much has that influenced the possibility of cooperation? After all, earlier delegations came to Belgrade, but there was very little benefit from it. Will that not happen again?

[Peykov] The new Black Sea Trade Mission is not violating the restrictions imposed by the sanctions. By its nature, it is concerned with culture and business. But it also has a moral value. I personally believe that the idea of the embargo is obsolete. I believe that it is supported only by bureaucrats who benefit from it. In addition, we in Bulgaria see that the embargo is in effect up the Danube, but not down the Danube. It is in that context that our mission should be seen as a civilized suggestion that the embargo should be lifted. And it is pure coincidence that this coincides with President Zelev's visit to Washington, where one of the topics of talks with President Clinton will be the embargo. But again it is not a coincidence.

[Lakicevic] Where do you think are the greatest opportunities for cooperation between the economies of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia?

[Peykov] I personally think that cooperation will be achieved first where the demand is greatest—in deliveries of metal, fuel, food, and building materials.

[Lakicevic] How was the idea of organizing this mission received in Bulgaria?

[Peykov] There was great interest in Burgas. Evidence of that is that all the places in the mission were filled long before we departed. Other evidence is that the largest government and private firms are represented on the mission. Just before we made the trip, more than 50 articles were published about the mission, and I know that they are awaiting our arrival in Burgas on Thursday with great impatience.

In spite of everything, I want to tell you that the mission represents a brave step. It is not precluded that I might have certain troubles in Bulgaria because of it, but my comment on that would be the saying: Difficulties are a blessing, and we grow because of them. Troubles may come from people who do not understand the idea of the mission. But I must say that I have already had that kind of experience, because six years ago I organized the first Bulgarian-Turkish business forum. At that time, our country was having great problems with the Turks. They even called me a traitor to the nation, but those who called me that are today making a living on business with Turkey.

[Lakicevic] What are the results of that forum?

[Peykov] Before that forum, visible trade between Bulgaria and Turkey amounted to $80 million. A year and a half after the forum was founded, trade reached $300 million. I do not want to say that this is only the result of the forum's establishment, but when you look at the makeup of visible trade, then it is evident that it is in the hands of the businessmen who took part in the forum. It would not surprise me if that happened here again.

We think that we are the first trade mission in Belgrade, and we expect that when your good years come, you will not forget that. That is, in fact, why we are establishing the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Business Club with headquarters in Burgas, and that is why the Black Sea Trade Mission will have its permanent office in Belgrade, in your World Trade Center.

[Box, p 22]

Oil Pipeline

[Peykov] There is an agreement among Russia, Bulgaria, and Greece to build an oil pipeline beginning in Burgas and ending in Alexandroupolis. That oil pipeline, whose objective among other things is to reduce the risk of shipping through the Bosporus, is to be built in four years. The capacity of the pipeline is 30 million metric tons a year. This is one of the strategically most important projects in the Balkans. It passes through the area of Strandza Mountain, where my firm, Geopan, has exclusive rights. The value of this project is about $200 million. This is a lot of money, but that money has been furnished, and we are counting on repaying it in two to three years.

Serbia

SPS Sees Peace as 'Priority National Interest'

AU1903220195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade RTB Television in Serbo-Croatian in 18 and 19 March editions of the 1830 GMT newscast carries commentaries by Socialist Party officials, stressing the need to embrace the Contact Group peace plan and find a peaceful solution to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On 18 March, Ivica Dacic, Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] spokesman, when asked by Ikonija Vostinic about his "position on the necessity to restore peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia," recalls that the

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leadership of Serbia and FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] "unselfishly," and "with great sacrifices" from all its citizens, supported the Serbian people in the Srpska repubLC and the republic of Serbian Krajina "in the defense of their national rights" from the very beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. "Now that the goals of this struggle have more or less been realized," Dacic proceeds, "the Serbian people need diplomatic verification of the results of this just struggle, which should be supported by the international community. Without this verification, this struggle would be without gain or result, and the great sacrifices will have been in vain. For this reason we should have, and still need to embrace, the Contact Group peace plan," Dacic says, summing up everything that this plan offers to the Serbs. "The need to accept this plan and the great positive consequences of this plan's acceptance vastly outweigh some negative consequences and shortcomings of this plan," he says.

Dacic confirms that there is opposition to the acceptance of the Contact Group peace plan, primarily "by the members of the warmongering lobby, which is definitely led by the Radicals." Dacic compares them to "a bunch of cats in a war sack, consisting of political gamblers who are playing not only with the fate of their people outside the FRY and the results of what the Serbs have already accomplished through great losses, risking losing everything the international community has already offered to the Serbs and, in the current stalemate in the peace negotiations, giving the Muslims and Croats a chance to once again instigate war activities and some resolution to the tragedy of war." Dacic in conclusion recalls the old proverb that "everything can and must be put at stake for the people, but not the people themselves."

On 19 March, the 1830 GMT newscast carries two more statements on the same subject:

Studio anchor Sasa Barbulovic introduces them by saying that "significant political factors and serious political analysts are unanimous in the belief that the achievement of an immediate peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia is now a priority national interest."

Predrag Simic, director of the Institute for International Policy and Economy, then states in an interview to Zoran Jevdjovic that there are two reasons for wishing for "a speedy end to this war and stabilization of the entire region." As he says, "for (?30 percent) of the territory of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] this war was a tragedy that has claimed numerous victims so far and will, if it continues, definitely lead to the total depopulation of entire regions, primarily on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the republic of Serbian Krajina, and so forth. In other words, I think at the moment we are faced with a question that is rather widespread among our public, namely: What is the purpose of territory if there is nobody left to live on it? I believe that the population of Bosnia is currently almost halved."

Referring to foreign perceptions of the conflict, he says that "this war has proven very dangerous so far. It has undermined the cohesion of the entire stability of Europe. It has managed to drive a wedge of contention in nearly all international organizations present on this territory."

Simic then goes on to say: "I believe that at the moment it is important to say something that is very significant for our public, namely: The war might have been won on the battlefield, however, in order not to lose in peacetime we must secure peace. This brings us back to the old question of whether Serbs win wars, but subsequently lose in peace time. I believe that what was won in the war cannot be preserved if this is not secured at the negotiating, diplomatic table. After three years of war, endured by all the people in Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the question arises whether continuing this war over the next three, six, or nine years would truly be in our interest. For example, the perspective of Bosnia as the European Lebanon with forever clashing militias and a region of practically permanent instability, which would affect all neighboring countries—would this really be in the Serbian national interest?"

Dusan Bajatovic, member of the SPS Main Committee and vice president of the Young Socialists, when asked by Vera Jankovic to comment on "peace as the fundamental precondition for overcoming the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia," says:

"Peace is the best way to a solution for the Yugoslav crisis. The last serious attempt was the Contact Group plan, which the leadership of the Srpska republic rejected. When we think about this, we must keep in mind what we gained with this plan and how far the realization of Serbian national interests on these territories advanced. We must be realistic here."

Bearing in mind that this plan granted Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs "equality," state attributes, freedom, "and the right to link up with their mother countries Serbia and FRY," Bajatovic says, "I think that we lost a lot by rejecting this plan."

He goes on to say: "I believe the time is ripe for a powerful peace process that would, at the international level, lead toward the verification and valorization of the results of the just struggle of the Serbian people so far. This would, therefore, be the first goal. Second, to avoid the FRY being driven into permanent isolation, that is, to secure the lifting of sanctions against the FRY—because we must take care of the entire Serbian national corpus—and third, to avoid unnecessary casualties, because we have fulfilled the basic national interests there."

Bajatovic admits that some segments of society in Serbia, FRY, the Srpska republic, and the republic of Serbian Krajina, primarily "war profiteers," "forces in the FRY that want to score cheap political points," and "hardcore nationalists" are opposed to these efforts.

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Voicing the opinions of the younger generation, Bajatovic emphasizes that "the advent of peace would primarily prevent further casualties among the population that would form the backbone of development of our country. This would also mean returning to a normal life," he concludes.

Ethnic Bulgarians Reportedly Causing Trouble

LD1703140995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosilegrad, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—A group of extremist nationalists, members of the illegal Democratic Alliance of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia (DSBJ), are trying by their provocative actions to destroy traditionally harmonious interethnic relations in areas where the Bulgarian national minority are in a majority, the municipal committee of the Bosilegrad Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) stresses in a statement today.

The statement by the socialists here came after DSBJ activists began to display posters with an irritating content which it is reliably known were prepared outside the borders of our country. The statement says that this group, under the name of the DSBJ, has "a powerful stronghoid in ill-intentioned circles in Bulgaria."

"The DSBJ, as a single-nation party, was left without supporters right from the start. In the multiparty elections it failed to obtain a single seat in the municipal assemblies of Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad," the statement adds. In the elections the SPS were convincing winners, winning 48 out of the 58 seats in both municipal assemblies. All the deputies are members of the Bulgarian minority.

"The Bulgarian national minority, with its legally elected structures, wishes to be a bridge linking and bringing together the Serbian and Bulgarian peoples and contributing to the development and establishment of good neighborly cooperation," the statement says.

"We take everything outside this framework and which is designed to destabilize Yugoslavia—our only homeland—to be an attack on the freedom and prosperity of this minority," the statement stresses.

Montenegro

SRS Trains Volunteers Abroad To Fight

AU1703184895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by B.I.Milicic: "Visnjic: The Serbian Radical Party's Volunteers Are Being Trained Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica—"Dr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], is currently west of the Drina River," said Acim Visnjic, vice president of the SRS Central Homeland Committee, at yesterday's press conference and added that "this is the concluding phase of defense and the Serbian Radicals are not joking."

"We consider the present activities of the international factors west of the Drina River to be a plot against the Serbian people and we must not allow this," Visnjic said. He is convinced that the "military agreement" between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Srpska republic "is the best guarantee for defending the Serbian people's right to self-determination, that the Slovenes, Croats, and ethnic group of Muslims in Bosnia, already have."

In answer to our question as to how the SRS would aid the struggle, Visnjic said that "a great number of volunteers are ready to immediately help Milan Martic and General Mladic." "Our volunteers are being trained abroad and are achieving envious results in training," Visnjic said, and added that they had to resort to this because "this is a vicious war, in which the most sophisticated arms—never used so far—will be engaged." According to Visnjic, some 1,000 volunteers from Pljevalj alone are ready for urgent interventions and their readiness will be the decisive factor in solving the national issue of the Serbs across the Drina River. [passage omitted]

Christmas Marred by Church Hostilities

95BA0127C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 9 Jan 95 p 7

[Article by Slobodan Rackovic: "'Hot Christmas'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Holiday tension among the Orthodox in Montenegro; the Serbian priests in Montenegro are instigating a religious war.*

Podgorica, 9 Jan—This year in Montenegro the Orthodox Christmas ceremonies were more than ever before a quite crude mockery of the religious and historical feelings of Montenegrins, especially in the new-old capital on Cetinje. Two Christmas bonfires, or Yule logs, as they say, were lit there. The Serbian Orthodox Church lit one in front of the historic monastery of St. Petar Cetinjski, and the committee that advocates restoration of the autonomous Montenegrin Orthodox Church lit one only about a hundred meters away in front of the palace of King Nikola. The appearance of both bonfires was quite interesting. Those who are in favor of an autonomous Montenegrin church completely filled the spacious square in front of the palace, whereas there were so few pro-Serbian believers that they could be counted easily, even though the Serbian priests and the regime's media had invited people to the monastery during all the days before Christmas. So that the area in front of them would not be completely empty, the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church bused in about 200 disreputable Serbs from Trebinje, who then fired machine guns and automatic rifles into the peaceful sky above Njegos's legendary Lovcen.

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Before that the Montenegrin police had thoroughly searched everyone who came in front of the palace of King Nikola on Christmas Eve. There were allegedly almost 10,000 of them. The Montenegrins were seriously angered and offended by this, because it quite simply took away their right to fire guns in order to celebrate the lighting of their own, autocephalous Christmas fire.

On Cetinje, everything indicated a brawl on that Orthodox Christmas Eve. For the fact that nothing bad happened, the authorities must thank primarily the calm words of Bishop Antonije Abramovic, whom the Orthodox Montenegrins elected as their spiritual leader 15 months ago, and the presence of King Nikola's great-grandson, Prince Nikola Petrovic II. With calm words, they pacified the enraged believers of the autonomous Montenegrin church. Thus, no blood was shed on Christmas Eve. That evening, in fact, is not just a religious one for Montenegrins, but also has historical and literary significance, because on that day in 1702 the Montenegrins are supposed to have killed the renegades, those who hired themselves out to the Turks too much. The event was marvelously described by Njegos in "Gorski Venac." People are wondering how long such an enforced peace will last, however, especially since Serbian priests in Montenegro are issuing serious challenges and trying to incite a religious war among people of the same faith, as they have already succeeded in doing in Bosnia and Croatia, where they stirred up a deadly conflict between the Orthodox and the Catholics and Muslims. Metropolitan Amfilohije Radovic is particularly active in this regard. In front of King Nikola's palace, the Montenegrins shouted aloud in a chorus that he was a devil.

Kosovo

Resistance Movement To Propose Solution on Serbs

LD1703194395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (Tanjug)—Representatives of the Serbian resistance movement from Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] and some Serbian parliamentary parties today agreed to develop a memorandum on the solution to the national question of Serbs in Kosmet by 8 April, when a meeting on this topic will be held in the Pec Patriarchy.

Momcilo Trajkovic, the movement's leader, told a news conference, following a meeting with the chairmen of the Serbian Radical Party, the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party of Serbia that they had also agreed to set up a national council which would prepare a Pan-Serbian gathering in the Gracanica monastery.

Trajkovic said that, apart from representatives of Serbian parties, the council would consist of political representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina, the Srpska republic, Serbs in diaspora, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, and everyone else interested in a solution to the Serbian question in Kosovo.

"All ideas, even those differing from our national-democratic idea, are welcomed at the consultative meeting in the Pec Patriarchy," Trajkovic said.

Opposition: Kosovo 'Inseparable Part of Serbia'

LD1703200795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 17 Mar 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, March 17 (TANJUG)—Leaders of two Serbian opposition parliamentary parties Zoran Djindjic and Vuk Draskovic have set out that the province of Kosovo and Metohija, predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians, is an inseparable part of Serbia.

Democratic Party President Zoran Djindjic said in an interview published in the latest issue of the Albanian-language weekly ZERI, published in the provincial centre of Pristina, that he was against the ethnic-Albanian separatism.

Leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement Draskovic said in an interview also published in the latest issue of the Albanian-language weekly that he was for a direct dialogue between Serbian authorities and representatives of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet).

Djindjic said he could not support 'Kosovo Albanians when they are not ready to work for a reform of the common state (Serbia) but want to create their own (state).' The Democratic Party president said if the ethnic Albanians in Kosmet had their own army they would have had seceded.

A strong ethnic-Albanian separatist movement has been acting in Kosmet for more than 20 years with a view to having Serbia's southern province break away and join neighbouring Albania. Ethnic Albanians in Kosmet have been boycotting Serbian state authorities and elections under pressure from their own political leaders.

Ethnic-Albanian separatists have illegally set up parallel authorities and ethnic-Albanian leaders reject all proposals for talks with Serbian authorities and insist on the internationalization of their alleged problem.

Serbian Renewal Movement leader Draskovic said he was for direct talks. 'Only one thing cannot be, for foreigners to mediate in the talks between (ethnic) Albanians and the state of Serbia,' he stated. Draskovic said a compromise in Kosmet 'should be reached on the basis of respect for the principle that Kosovo (and Metohija) is the historical cradle and the myth of the Serb culture and for the fact that it is predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians.'

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'At the time of the disintegration of the (former) Yugoslav state, Serbs were not a minority in any of the (then) republics... Albanians had their mother state Albania, while the mother state of Serbs was Yugoslavia,' Draskovic said. Draskovic set out that that was why it was not possible to compare Kosmet and ethnic Albanians with the Krajina Serbs who created their own state, the republic of Serbian Krajina, in 1991 in response to Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

Draskovic said it was necessary to open a dialogue immediately, without waiting for war, the 'Blue Helmets' and international mediators.

Vojvodina

New Party Rallying Vojvodina Hungarians Set Up

LD1803135895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kanjiza, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Civic Movement of Vojvodina Hungarians [Gradjanski Pokret Vojvodjanskih Madjara—GPVM] was held in Senta today. Jozef Berec, the leader of this new political organization rallying ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina, said that the reason for setting up this party was dissatisfaction with the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] and the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians [Savez Vojvodjanski Madjara—SVM].

Berec stressed that these two parties—DZVM and SVM—were not representing adequately at home and abroad the interests of the Hungarian minority. He said that the GPVM program orientation was an alternative to the three-step autonomy advocated by the DZVM and Andras Agoston.

According to Berec, the GVPM is against revanchism, for an active approach to solving interethnic problems, for improving interethnic relations and the sense of community, and especially for consolidating the friendship between Hungarians and Serbs.

The founders of this new party believe that ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina can realize all their interests and can preserve their national identity in a peaceful way and by democratic means within the constitutional and legal framework and in cooperation with the Serbian and Yugoslav authorities.

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